

TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH

EL IMPARCIAL
San Juan, P.R.
May 23, 1956
Page 14, Cols. 2 & 3

COMMITTEE WILL BEGIN STUDY ON
CIVIL RIGHTS IN P.R.

The committee appointed by the Governor Muñoz Marín to carry out a study on civil rights in Puerto Rico is ready to begin its work. It is composed of JOSE TRIAS MONGE, Secretary of Justice, President; FELIX OCHOTECO, Jr., President of the Bar Association; ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, member of the Superior Council of Education and ex-Superior Judge, and FRANCISCO PONSA FELIU, attorney in the Statehood Party; and MARCOS A. RAMIREZ, Independentist.

The study will be carried out in accordance with a resolution which was approved last year by the United Nations offering the services of legal advice to governments requesting it to make studies on the practice and protection of civil rights in the respective countries.

The Government of Puerto Rico was the first to request these services, and ROGER BALDWIN, President of the International League on Human Rights, was appointed to offer the government his services as a consultant.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8SIS/86
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100-49565-67
ENCLOSURE

TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH

EL IMPARCIAL
San Juan, P.R.
May 24, 1956
Page 3, Col. 2

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

NOTICE

THE COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS WISHES
TO ADVISE THE PUBLIC IN GENERAL THAT
A STUDY HAS BEEN BEGUN ON THE PRACTICE
AND PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN
PUERTO RICO.

THE PUBLIC IN GENERAL IS INVITED TO
SEND IN INFORMATION OR COMMENTS ON
THE SITUATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN PUERTO
RICO.

ALL INFORMATION OR COMMENT SHOULD BE SENT TO:

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
BAR ASSOCIATION
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

JOSE TRIAS MONGER, President

z1

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TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH

EL IMPARCIAL
San Juan, P.R.
May 24, 1956
Pages, 22,44; Cols. 1,1

PUERTO RICO IN WASHINGTON

David Fernsler

Washington, D.C. --- "The weakest points," says ROGER BALDWIN of the American Union of Civil Liberties (UALC--- Union Americana de Libertades Civiles) after a study of the civil and political liberties in Puerto Rico, "are in the administration of criminal law which has not been revised in twenty years and is ready to be revised and in the lack of nongovernmental democratic agencies, the pressure of which on the government helps to maintain democracy."

In regard to the Virgin Islands, BALDWIN says that he had conferences with members of the Legislature interested in problems connected with the recently revised Congressional law which "deprives the islands of a large part of the limited self-government they had previously enjoyed."

BALDWIN is an adviser to the American Union of Civil Liberties in international work. Governor Luis Muñoz Marin invited him to make a study of civil and political liberties in Puerto Rico under the Charter of Community Rights. BALDWIN is likewise president of the "International League of the United Nations for the Rights of Man". This is an advisory agency.

A recent resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations established advisory services for the governments that so requested either through the office of the Secretary

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or through nongovernmental advisory agencies. Upon the request of the governor, Muñoz Marín, a communiqué of the UALC says, "Puerto Rico is the first country to take advantage of the resolution of the United Nations."

In his capacity, the communiqué continues, Mr. BALDWIN held preliminary interviews in order to define the scope of the study and he set up the machinery for the study in cooperation with the Governor of Puerto Rico, the Attorney General, the University of Puerto Rico, and the Bar Association. On the basis of this preliminary concentration of attention, BALDWIN says:

"The weakest points are in the administration of criminal law in Puerto Rico which has not been revised in twenty years and is ready to be revised and in the lack of nongovernmental democratic agencies, the pressure of which on the government helps to maintain democracy. This lack is undoubtedly due to a great extent to the tradition of the centralized government under the colonial regime, continued now under an extremely popular government which is developing a noteworthy program of economic well-being. But the citizens are inclined to depend chiefly on the government for their leadership---a natural thing under an immensely popular government--- and private associations are weak. They need a stimulus to assure these democratic principles which should cement any administration."

In regard to the trip of BALDWIN to the Virgin Islands, the UALC says that "opinion is unified in these islands in regard to the nature of changes that should be made" in the amended Organic Charter. "It is believed that some changes should be proposed to Congress this spring and that a thorough revision of the entire Organic Charter should be carefully prepared to be submitted to Congress in 1957." Mr. BALDWIN agreed to help obtain the expert help which will be necessary in drawing up these proposed revisions.

"He emphasized that a strong backing of public opinion will be necessary in the United States to achieve a desirable measure of self-government in the Virgin Islands."

3.

(General opinion among key members of Congress responsible for legislation for the Virgin Islands continues to be that it is "too soon" to speak of changes; that the present law should be given a longer trial. This opinion is shared everywhere.)

The UALC was in the center of the segregation battle last year and warned that this battle will have to be waged for a long time to come.

"The political situation, the complexities of the solidarity of the Democratic and Republican parties continue to paralyze any movement towards an effective federal legislation on civil rights," says the UALC.

"The progress which has been made on the state level--- in those states which understand and support the constitutional guarantee of equality."

The organization continues to warn that a continual battle will have to be waged to guarantee the access of newspapers to government news "from the Department of National Defense to the committees on state highway funds, to the officials of county courts."

However, it concludes that the "concern of the nation with problems of loyalty and security which have adversely affected civil liberties has changed due to a general awakening of the public conscience towards the damage done to the constitutional rights of the people, the functioning of the federal courts, and the courage of a number of responsible legislators and government officials who have thrown a clear light on the danger we were in."

June 27, 1956

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DATE 8-20-86 BY 088DTJ/agf

ROGER NASH BALDWIN
STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN
PUERTO RICO. 12-1-

RECORDED - 88

EX-107

Our San Juan, Puerto Rico, Office has forwarded copies of three news articles which appeared in "El Imparcial," a Spanish language newspaper in San Juan, together with the translations of these articles. Two of these news articles dated May 23, 1956, and May 24, 1956, mention the appointment by the Governor of Puerto Rico of a committee to study civil rights in Puerto Rico. The other news article dated May 24, 1956, reflects the results of an interview with Roger Nash Baldwin which was conducted in Washington, D. C., by David Fernsler, Washington correspondent of "El Imparcial."

I am enclosing for your information one Photostat of each of the above-mentioned news articles together with the translation of each of the news articles.

Enclosures (6)

cc. Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

cc: Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

cc: Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III

Enclosures (6)

Enclosures (6)

Enclosures: (6)

100-49565

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Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

NOTE: On 1/26/56, a memorandum was previously furnished to the Attorney General with copies to Rogers, Tompkins and Olney reflecting information concerning the visit of Roger Nash Baldwin to Puerto Rico for a study of civil liberties.

MAILED 5

JUN 27 1956

COMM-FBI

JUL 6 - 1956

Gandy.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/19/56

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN

SUBJECT: CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS

Reference is made to San Juan radiogram to the Bureau, 1/24/56, captioned "Proposed Visit of ROGER BALDWIN to Puerto Rico for Study of Civil Liberties".

Enclosed are translations, and the originals, of two articles from "El Imparcial", San Juan Spanish language newspaper dealing with the appointment by the Governor of Puerto Rico of a committee to study civil rights in Puerto Rico and the fact that said committee is now ready to begin operations and is advising the general public to send information and commentaries to it.

Also enclosed is the original and a translation of an article from "El Imparcial" covering an interview with ROGER BALDWIN conducted in Washington, D. C. by DAVID FERNSLER, Washington Correspondent of "El Imparcial". This article reports the opinions and conclusions of Mr. BALDWIN in connection with his survey of civil rights matters in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

These items are being referred to the Bureau as a matter of information.

- 6 JCS:htg
 ② - Bureau (Enclosures 6)
 1 - San Juan (44-0)

JCS:htg
 (3)

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 DATE 8-20-86 BY SP2BJS/ag
 26625/174-107

100-49565-67

7-3
 JUN 20 1956

Memo to AG with encl.
 6-26-56

BAUM

FD

Photostats made
 of each clipping -
 # copies typed of
 each translation
 all sent to
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 memo
 6-26-56
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 JUN 20 1956
 74

Comité Sobre Derechos Civiles
San Juan, Puerto Rico

AVISO

El Comité Sobre Derechos Civiles desea avisar al público en general que ha dado comienzo al estudio sobre la práctica y protección de los derechos civiles en Puerto Rico.

Se invita al público en general para que envíe información o comentarios sobre la situación de los derechos civiles en Puerto Rico.

Toda información o comentario debe dirigirse a:

Comité Derechos Civiles
Colegio de Abogados
San Juan, Puerto Rico

José Trías Monge
Presidente

"El Imparcial"
San Juan, P. R.
5/24/56
Page 3, Col. 2

CIVIL RIGHTS
MATTERS

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DATE 8-20-86 BY 208 BTJ/08

ENCLOSURE

100-11956-21

Comité Iniciará Estudio Derechos Civiles En P R

A iniciar sus labores se encuentra el comité designado por el gobernador Muñoz Marín para realizar un estudio sobre los derechos civiles en Puerto Rico, el cual está integrado por José Trías Monge, Secretario de Justicia, presidente; Félix Ochoteco, hijo, presidente del Colegio de Abogados; Abraham Díaz González, miembro del Consejo Superior de Enseñanza, y ex juez superior, y Francisco Ponsa Feliú, abogado estadoista y Marcos A. Ramírez, independentista.

El estudio se realizará de acuerdo con una resolución aprobada el pasado año, por las Naciones Unidas ofreciendo servicio de asesora-

miento a los gobiernos que así lo solicitaren para hacer estudios sobre la práctica y protección de los derechos civiles en los países respectivos.

El Gobierno de Puerto Rico fué el primero en solicitar estos servicios y designó a Rogér Baldwin, presidente de la Liga Internacional sobre Derechos Humanos, para que ofreciera al Gobierno sus servicios consultivos.

"El Imparcial"
San Juan, P. R.
5/23/56
P. 14, Cols. 2 & 3

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MATTERS

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100-49565

ENCLOSURE



Puerto Rico en Washington

DAVID FERNSLER



WASHINGTON, D. C. — "Los puntos más débiles", dice Roger Baldwin, de la Unión Americana de Libertades Civiles, (UALC), después de un estudio de las libertades civiles y políticas en Puerto Rico, "están en la administración de la ley criminal que no ha sido revisada en veinte años y está próxima a serlo, y en la falta de agencias democráticas no gubernamentales cuyas presiones sobre el Gobierno ayudan a sostener la democracia."

De las Islas Vírgenes, Baldwin dice que confirió con miembros de la Legislatura interesados en problemas relacionados con la recién revisada Ley del Congreso "que priva a las islas de una gran parte del limitado gobierno propio que ellos antes habían disfrutado."

Baldwin es consejero de la Unión Americana de Libertades Civiles en trabajo internacional. El gobernador Luis Muñoz Marín lo invitó a hacer un estudio de las libertades civiles y políticas en Puerto Rico bajo la Carta de Derechos de la Comunidad. Baldwin es también presidente de la "Liga Internacional de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos del Hombre." Esta es una agencia consultora.

Una Resolución reciente de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas estableció servicios de asesores a los gobiernos que los solicitaren, bien por la Secretaría o por agencias asesoras no gubernamentales. A petición del gobernador Muñoz, dice un comunicado de la UALC, "Puerto Rico es el primer país en aprovecharse de la Resolución de las Naciones Uni-

das." En su capacidad, prosigue, el comunicado, el señor Baldwin celebró entrevistas preliminares para definir el alcance del estudio y ha establecido la maquinaria para el estudio en cooperación con el Gobernador de Puerto Rico, el Procurador General, la Universidad de Puerto Rico y el Colegio de Abogados. A base de este enfoque preliminar, Baldwin dice:

"Los puntos más débiles están en la administración de la ley penal en Puerto Rico, que no ha sido revisada en veinte años y está próxima a serlo, y en la falta de agencias democráticas no gubernamentales cuyas presiones sobre el Gobierno ayudan a sostener la democracia. Esta falta sin duda se debe en gran parte a la tradición del gobierno centralizado bajo el régimen colonial, continuado ahora bajo un gobierno altamente popular que está desarrollando un notable programa de bienestar económico. Pero los ciudadanos son propensos a depender principalmente del Gobierno para su liderazgo — cosa natural bajo un gobierno inmensamente popular — y las asociaciones privadas son débiles. Necesitan estímulo para asegurar esos principios democráticos que deben cimentar cualquier administración."

Del viaje de Baldwin a las Islas Vírgenes, la UALC dice que opinión unificada en esas islas sobre la naturaleza de cambios que

(Pasa a la pág. 41)

"El Imparcial"
San Juan, P. R.
5/24/56
P. 22, 41
Cols. 1 and 1

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MATTERS

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Puerto Rico En Washington

(Viene de la pág. 22)

deben ser hechos" en la Carta Orgánica enmendada. "Se cree que algunos cambios deben ser propuestos el Congreso en esta primavera, y que una revisión minuciosa de toda la Carta Orgánica debe ser preparada cuidadosamente para ser sometida al Congreso en el 1957." El señor Baldwin ha convenido en ayudar a obtener la ayuda experta que será necesaria en la redacción de estas propuestas revisiones.

"Se recalcó que un fuerte respaldo de la opinión pública será necesario en Estados Unidos para lograr una medida deseable de gobierno propio en las Islas Vírgenes."

(La opinión general entre miembros claves del Congreso, responsables por legislación para las Islas Vírgenes, sigue siendo de que es "demasiado pronto" para hablar de cambios; que la actual Ley debe dársele una prueba más prolongada. Esta opinión viene de todas partes.)

La UALC durante el pasado año ha estado en el centro de la lucha sobre la segregación, advirtiendo que esta lucha tendrá que ser librada en mucho tiempo por venir.

"La situación política, las complejidades de la solidaridad de los partidos Demócrata y Republicano, siguen paralizando, cualquier movimiento hacia una efectiva legislación federal sobre derechos civiles," dice la UALC. "El ordenamiento municipal Los Angeles y el movimiento de la UALC simple."

tía constitucional de igualdad."

La organización sigue advirtiendo que tendrá que librarse una lucha continua para garantizar el acceso de los periódicos a las noticias gubernamentales, "desde el Departamento de Defensa Nacional, a las comisiones de fondos estatales de carreteras, a los funcionarios de tribunales condales."

Pero concluye que "la preocupación de la Nación con problemas de lealtad y seguridad que habían afectado adversamente las libertades civiles ha cambiado," debido a "un despertar general de la conciencia pública hacia el perjuicio hecho a los derechos constitucionales del pueblo; el funcionamiento de las cortes federales, y la valentía de un número de legisladores responsables y funcionarios gubernamentales, que han proyectado una luz clara sobre el peligro en que estábamos."

AINED

2015/06-49563
266251 ENCLOSURE

1. Roger N. Baldwin
2. 100-49565
3. yes
4. no
5. no
6. ~~yes~~ -
7. yes, 1949
8. More than 30 orgs -
primarily in 1920's + 1930's
some in 1940's.
activity was not for C.P. but independent
radical + liberal involvement
9. No

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100-49565-68

ENCLOSURE

file
5-7-50

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Mr. Belmont

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

October 9, 1956

b6
b7C

Director, FBI

100-4162-✓
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - BRIEF
(Prosecution of Additional
Communist Functionaries Under
the Smith Act - San Juan)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Our San Juan Office has advised that Roger N. Baldwin, the former executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union, has arrived in San Juan for the purpose of contacting the heads of the Puerto Rican Bar Association and the Federal Bar Association in Puerto Rico. These contacts are purportedly for the purpose of attempting to interest these bar associations in contributing to a fund which would be used to help defray the expenses of the Defense Attorney David I. Shapiro.

It has also been reported that Shapiro has requested a free hand in the Smith Act trial and has stated he will withdraw as defense attorney if any attorneys from the Communist Party, USA, are used during the trial. Defendant [redacted] has indicated that the Communist Party of Puerto Rico will give Shapiro a free hand in this matter.

100-3-74-48

1 - Bufile (100-49565) (Roger N. Baldwin)

PWD:lmk
(6)

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ON 2-20-86

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DECODED COPY

Mr. [Signature]

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☒ **yy****Radio**☐**Teletype**~~FROM~~ SAN JUAN

10-2-56

NR 021907

42-1-1

~~TO~~ DIRECTOR AND SAC NEW YORK

DEFERRED

CCMFROS, SJ, IS-C; SSA, 1940. ON OCTOBER 2, 1956, ACTING USA RUBEN RODRIGUEZ ADVISED THAT ROGER BALDWIN, ACLU, HAS ARRIVED IN SAN JUAN FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONTACTING THE HEADS OF THE PUERTO RICO BAR ASSOCIATION AND THE FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION IN AN EFFORT TO HAVE THEM CONTRIBUTE TO A FUND TO HELP DEFRAY THE EXPENSES OF DAVID I. SHAPIRO, ACLU ATTORNEY, WHO HAS INTERCEDED IN THE DEFENSE OF THE ELEVEN SAN JUAN SMITH ACT DEFENDANTS. THE BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS MATTER. BOSTON ADVISED AMSD.

RECEIVED:

5:26 PM RADIO

5:49 PM CODING UNIT JAG

NEW YORK VIA RADIO

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-374-48-493

Arg me Belmont

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 DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/alp

100-172-V

NOT RECORDED

OCT 15 1956

Tics: Boardman
Belmont
Mr. deBettencourt

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

August 31, 1956

b7D

RE: WALTER ZARSE
ROGER BALDWIN

SECRET

12071

Our files do not contain any derogatory security information concerning Walter Zarse or the Technological Alliance Service Committee, Incorporated, New York City. Our files reflect that Walter Zarse, who was born in New York City on November 26, 1923, claimed to be a conscientious objector in 1943 as he was opposed to participation in war in any form.

Our files reflect that the International League for the Rights of Man, 25 East 64th Street, New York 21, New York, under the chairmanship of Roger N. Baldwin, has described itself in 1955 as the only international agency recognized by the United Nations as a consultant devoted solely to the nonpartisan promotion of all human rights. This organization further commented that its efforts cover the whole range of human rights handled by the United Nations where it serves as the representative of over twenty national affiliates throughout the world. It stated that for over ten years the League has been "persistently plugging away as a lobbyist at the United Nations."

Roger N. Baldwin has in the past been an officer of the American Civil Liberties Union. The American Civil Liberties Union, in its thirty-fourth annual report (1954), reaffirmed its anticommunist and antifascist policy, but still maintained it would defend the civil liberties of persons regardless of any political party, organization, denomination, race, or nationality to which a person may belong. We have not conducted any investigation of Roger N. Baldwin.

Our files do not contain any information concerning the Movement for Colonial Freedom at the United Nations.

cc - 2 - London

SECRET

Classified by SP2BTS/08

cc - 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit

Declassify on: OADR 8-20-86

JMD:scc:sac

(11)

SEE NOTE PAGE 2)

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NOTE:

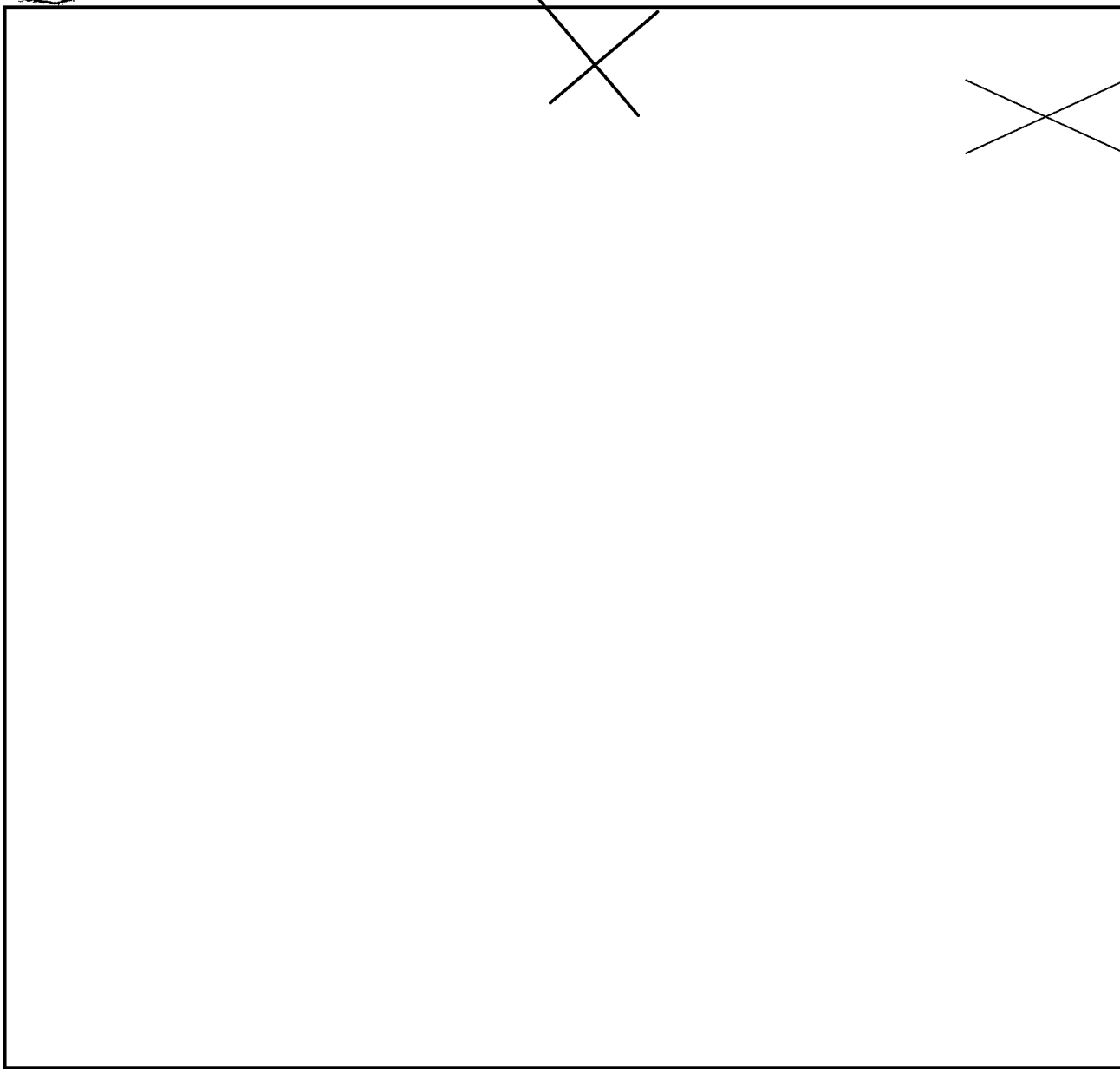
Roger N.

Baldwin has been a controversial figure as head of the American Civil Liberties Union. Although there has been allegations in the past that he belonged to several organizations cited by Attorney General, we have ^{not} conducted investigation of him. Believe that in view of his controversial status, we should not advise [redacted] of the alleged affiliation with front organizations, but merely advise we have not conducted investigation of him. (S)

(U)

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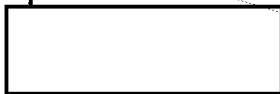
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126 SEP 7 1956

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~~Classified by 202573/08
Declassify on: OADR 20286
266251~~

~~SECRET~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : F. J. Baumgardner *WJK*

DATE: June 30, 1958

FROM : J. J. O'Connor *JO*SUBJECT: ROGER BALDWINSM-CALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-20-80 BY SP8 BTJ/agf

Roger N. Baldwin

Attached is a memorandum prepared by the New York Office concerning captioned individual, which does not include any information obtained as the result of a file review at Seat of Government. The attached was transmitted by New York letter dated June 9, 1958, captioned "Communist Infiltration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Internal Security - C," the original of which is filed in Bufile 61-3176-2558.

EXTREME CAUTION SHOULD BE TAKEN IN UTILIZING THE INFORMATION IN THE ATTACHED AS INCLUDED THEREIN MAY BE INFORMATION, PARTICULARLY THAT FROM THE INDICES OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA), WHICH HAS NOT BEEN DEFINITELY IDENTIFIED AS BEING IDENTICAL WITH CAPTIONED INDIVIDUAL. THE ATTACHED MEMORANDUM, OR ANY REPRODUCTION THEREOF, SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED IN ITS ENTIRETY.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that instant memorandum and its attachment be routed to the Records Branch:

☒ To be filed in case file of captioned individual.

☐ To have a new 100 main inactive file opened on captioned individual and for filing therein.

3-ENC-*WJK*

REC-12

100-419565 68

16 JUL 3 1958

Enclosure
Bufile 100-4956566 JUL 8 1958 *2371**5-jul*

JUN 6 1958

NY 100-7629 Sub C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ROGER N. BALDWIN
"Committee of 100"
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored
People Legal Defense and
Educational Fund, Inc.

Background information concerning Roger N. Baldwin was obtained from "Who's Who in America", Volume 30, 1958 through 1959, page 137, and the current 1957-1958, Manhattan, New York City, telephone directory.

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to Whom Furnished	File No. Where Located
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T-1

100-8424-39, 41

[redacted] G-2,
Military District
of Washington

b6
b7C

The informants utilized in the characterization of "Americans for Traditional Liberties" are [redacted] and NY 694-S, who have furnished reliable information in the past. The pretext telephone call to Ella Baker was made by Special Agent [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C

Classified by SP3 BTJ/ab
Declassify on: OADR 8-20-86

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-47263-67 5 HAD

NY 100-7629 Sub C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In reviewing information available in the files of this office concerning Roger Baldwin, it has been noted that he is a very prominent person in the field of civil liberties, due to his position with the American Civil Liberties Union. Considerable information is available indicating that Baldwin was affiliated with Communist Party front groups, which connections would appear to be adequately brought out through the attached record check of the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In Baldwin's case file in this office (NY 100-8424), there is a Photostat which is identified by a notation "From ONI at Conference held 3-18-42." This is typed material concerning the captioned individual, and among other things it is stated, "In 1934, he was reported to be an honorary member of the National Advisory Board of the Communist Party of the U.S." This allegation was not included in the attached memorandum in the absence of information as to its accuracy and its meaning, if accurate.

It is noted further that Baldwin's activity which brought him in contact with the Communist movement has extended over several decades. [It would appear from information made available by sources of this office that Baldwin was indirectly in touch with Communist Party Headquarters about certain matters at least as late as 1956-1957. Possibly these contacts related to amnesty for the Communist Party (CP) leaders, Trachtenberg and Charney, in whose case Baldwin reportedly took an interest and on whose behalf he apparently allowed his name to be used for fund raising purposes on at least one occasion. It is noted also that John Gates, at CP National Headquarters on March 25, 1957, received an invitation and agreed to speak at a discussion club founded by Roger Baldwin called "The Dissenters", according to information furnished by [redacted] [redacted] It would appear from information furnished by [redacted] that Gates was going to debate

b2
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Michael) Harrington (of the National Action Committee of the Young Socialist League) before "a private discussion group run by Roger Baldwin."

In view of the fact that Baldwin is a prominent person, who is well known in his field, and because the instant memorandum would be more extensive than its proper scope if all of the many aspects of Baldwin's past Communist and other subversive associations were set forth, representative material only, taken from various periods in his career, has been included in the attached memorandum.

For the information of the Bureau, it is noted that Baldwin has been interviewed by Agents of the New York Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the past and displayed an apparently cooperative attitude. On February 21, 1949, he was interviewed in connection with the "JAY DAVID WHITEKER CHAMBERS, was.; Perjury; Espionage - R; Internal Security - R." case (Report of Special Agent Robert F. X. O'Keefe, dated March 10, 1949, at New York, pages 82-86).

Baldwin acknowledged acquaintance with several individuals who figured prominently in the previously mentioned "CHAMBERS" case, and that he had been acquainted with Harold Ware and his mother, Mother Bloor over a period of 25 years. He stated that he visited Harold Ware in Russia and spent a week or ten days at the Cooperative Farm operated by Ware in Southern Russia.

Baldwin was questioned concerning his association with numerous organizations which have been subsequently declared to be subversive groups by the Attorney General of the United States. Baldwin stated that he was well aware of the Communist infiltration of these groups and in many instances was able to recognize the Communists who were endeavoring to seize control of these organizations.

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However, he stated that the major portion, if not all of these organizations, were originally founded by sincere individuals without Communist leanings, who were endeavoring to accomplish worthwhile objectives which would provide a better Democracy and a better life for the citizens of the United States. Subsequently, because these organizations appealed to masses and underprivileged, the Communists would endeavor to seize and control positions of power in these organizations.

Baldwin stated that in many instances, he remained in such organizations even after he realized that they had been taken over by the Communists because he still believed in the fundamental tenets and ideals of the organization and became active in them to combat Communist domination and influence.

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ROGER N. BALDWIN
"Committee of 100"
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Legal Defense and Educational
Fund, Inc.

Roger N. Baldwin is a white male, born January 21, 1884. Mr. Baldwin was a director, American Civil Liberties Union, New York City, 1917-1950, national chairman, 1950-1955, and advisor on international work from 1950; and he is also chairman of the board, International League for Rights of Man. Mr. Baldwin maintains residences at Dell Brook Farm, Oakland, New Jersey, and 282 West 11th Street, New York City. This office is at 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The "New York Times" of October 31, 1918, contained an article captioned "Pacifist Professor Gets Year in Prison". The article stated that Roger Nash Baldwin, former Director of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, and an official of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) was sentenced on October 30, 1918, to one year in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, for violating the Selective Service Law, and refusing to submit to a physical examination.

In an article in the "New York Times" of May 27, 1921, Roger Nash Baldwin was accused by the American Legion for utterances at the Amnesty Rally at Cincinnati, Ohio, in which he was charged with having advocated methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial and political reform in that he desired a Soviet Government in America.

The "New York Times" of April 13, 1923, contained an article in which Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), was stated to have charged that the \$800,000.00 Garland Fund, which was known as the American Fund for Public Service, was being used to sponsor a Communist Revolution in the United States. This news article listed Roger Baldwin as one of the early advisors to the young Garland, and also as a trustee of this fund.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/agp

The "New York Times" of April 18, 1923, contained an article that Roger Baldwin was the subject of an indictment, along with eight others of the ACLU, charging grand larceny, in that these individuals were alleged to have defrauded two men in a scheme to colonize American workmen in Russia.

The "New York Times" of December 6, 1930, contained an article captioned "Foster and Aides Put Red Flag First." This article stated that Roger Nash Baldwin testified before the Dies Committee that William Z. Foster, a Director in the ACLU until a month ago, had resigned because of holding different social views than that organization. Representative Hamilton Fish, of the Dies Committee, asked Baldwin the question, "Does your organization uphold the right of an alien to advocate murder or assassination?" Baldwin replied, "Yes, of course, but only generally speaking, as in Hyde Park, London, and in a specific incitation. It is the healthiest thing for a country."

In an article in the "Washington Herald" dated October 18, 1935, Baldwin was quoted as saying, "Therefore, I am for Socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the property class, and sole control of those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal."

In the book entitled "The Socialism of Our Times," published in June, 1929, Baldwin contributed an article entitled "The Need for Militancy." This book represented papers delivered at a symposium on Socialism by a number of prominent writers. Mr. Baldwin's article appeared on Pages 76 to 83 of this book.

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On Page 77 Baldwin refers to himself as a Pacifist. He stated that he believes in revolution, "not necessarily the forceful seizure of power in armed conflict, but the process of class movements determined to expropriate the capitalist class, and to take control of all social property".

Baldwin indicated that he is opposed to revolutionary violence and states, "I would rather see violent revolution than none at all, though I do not personally support it because I believe other means far better. Even the terrible cost of bloody revolution is a cheaper price to humanity than the continued exploitation and wreck of human life under the settled violence of the present system."

On Pages 80 and 81 Baldwin wrote, "Despite my favorable attitude to Communist activities which is justified, I think, by the facts, I am not a Communist, as is well known. I could not join the Communist movement, both for theoretical and practical reasons. Philosophically, I am an Anarchist, though I do not work at it."

The "New York Post" of December 21, 1940, in its column entitled "The American Forum" supplied the question, "Should Communist and Nazi organizations be outlawed?" for consideration. Baldwin argued through this medium the negative of the question. He asserted, "No government has ever been overthrown by free speech, but plenty of governments have been overthrown by suppressing free speech. Our civil liberties in the long run constitute our only sure bulwark against dictatorship, and the only means of democracy."

On the question, "Is Communism a threat to the American way of life?", a debate on the weekly radio program "American Town Meeting of the Air", conducted on January 11, 1945, over Radio Station WJZ, Baldwin stated that Communism was merely a nuisance.

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According to the "New York World-Telegram" of January 12, 1945, the day after the above broadcast, Baldwin was quoted as saying "Not in the worst years of the depression did Communism attract any number of adherents. They are not and have never been a threat, but I will agree that they are a nuisance. They mislead innocent liberals and are an obstacle to democracy, in that they confuse the issue. The purpose of Communism inevitably is to act as agencies of the Soviet Union. Russia wants to win the war, and rebuild the country after the war, so our Communists are now against revolution and are for American business expansion."

The "Harvard Crimson", a publication of Harvard University, issue of November 26, 1947, reported a meeting of the Harvard Law School Forum held on November 25, 1947, at Rindge Technical High School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the general topic, "How Safe are American Civil Rights?" This article had the subheading, "Baldwin Fears Trend Against Civil Liberties", and stated in part as follows:

"Roger N. Baldwin, '04, Director of the ACLU, cast a dubious eye towards the query 'How Safe are American Civil Rights?' at the Fourth Law School Forum last night." Baldwin charged that in the past year or two 'had enough'? forces have buttressed conservative elements, and made it increasingly difficult to fight for human liberties. He decried the Taft-Hartley law, the method of administering loyalty checks, and activities of the Un-American Activities Committee, as the most depressing aspects of this trend."

[redacted] an alleged former Comintern representative whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished reliable and unreliable information, has stated "the connections of Roger Baldwin with the CP were rather unhappy. While the Communists were always trying to use the services of Baldwin and his ACLU in order to defend the Communists, who were persecuted in America or some other country, they were always antagonized by the spirit of free

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criticism of Roger Baldwin and his refusal to take instructions from the CP to any extent or to the extent that fellow travelling liberals take instructions. The explanation of this fact lies in Baldwin's background. In his youth he was a 'Wobbly'. He was IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), with a strong individualistic and anarchistic trend. Baldwin disassociated his activities very definitely from any Communist cause from the early 1930's. At that time, the Communists, not being able to profit from the activities of the ACLU, created a new organization which was called the Congress for Civil Liberties..... Baldwin is not a Communist. He is a genuine liberal. His activities sum up in a defense of the American Constitution, in which he has implicit faith. The ACLU thinks that by the observation of the American Constitution there are no civil liberties problems. Baldwin is of the conviction that America does not need any revolutionary upheaval to improve its institutions. The Constitution gives such opportunity for any aspirations."

T-1, another government agency which conducts personnel and security investigations, advised on April 21, 1952, that a meeting was held at the Men's Club of the Unitarian Church at Summit, New Jersey, on March 18, 1952, at which Roger Baldwin was the principal speaker. During the speech Baldwin made the following statements:

"We have intimidated civil service because of investigations."

"Loyalty oaths for teachers have made them fearful."

"Congress has no right to question people concerning their private political opinions."

"The eleven Communist leaders in jail did nothing wrong."

"I am against McCarthyism and against Communist prosecutions."

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Benjamin Gitlow, Communist candidate for Vice President of the United States in 1924 and 1928, writing in his book "I Confess", subtitle "The Truth About American Communism", stated on page 226 (concerning the reaction of Communist Party leaders to the Supreme Court verdict on June 8, 1925, upholding his conviction for criminal syndicalism):

"While my comrade who was head of the I.L.D. (International Labor Defense), together with his caucus chieftan, the erstwhile standard bearer of the Party, could not think beyond the possibility of having a factional opponent removed, even if the removal was to a capitalist prison in punishment for service to the Party, and both rejoiced at the thought, the American Civil Liberties Union, at that time free of any vestige of Communist control and attacked by our Party because its head, Roger Baldwin, had the temerity to champion the cause of political prisoners in Russia, immediately appealed to Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York to pardon me."

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The "New York Times", Thursday, January 5, 1939, on pages 9, column 6, carries an article entitled "RED LINK IS DENIED BY LIBERTIES UNION. Baldwin Also Sends Disavowal to Dies Committee."

This article reads as follows:

"The American Civil Liberties Union disavowed any connection with the Communist Party in an affidavit sent yesterday to Representative Martin Dies, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In a separate affidavit Roger N. Baldwin, director of the union, denied that he had ever belonged to the Communist Party and said he was opposed to many of the party's principles and tactics.

"The affidavits were prepared at the invitation of Robert E. Stripling, Secretary of the Dies Committee, who assured the Civil Liberties Union that they would be included in the official record of the committee.

"The American Civil Liberties Union has never been a front or part of a united front for the Communist Party; the organization's affidavit said. 'The American Civil Liberties Union has no direct or indirect connection with any political movement.

"The American Civil Liberties Union has no connection with any other organization except when cooperating on some particular issue or case involving a question of civil liberties. It has no official connection as testified to by certain witnesses with the International Labor Defense, the Workers Defense League or the American League for Peace and Democracy."

"The management of the union is vested in a board of directors and a national committee of seventy, only one of whom is a Communist, the affidavit declared.

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"The union's sworn statement was signed by John Haynes Holmes, vice chairman; B. W. Heubach, treasurer; and Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin described himself as 'a pacifist, wholly disbelieving in any philosophy, program or movement committed to the use of violence in any form'".

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An article entitled "Trotzkyist Case Tried to Defense of 29 - Baldwin" in the "Daily Worker" dated June 10, 1944, reflects:

"Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union told an audience of Trotzkyists and Norman Thomas Socialists at a meeting Thursday night that the hope of the 18 imprisoned Minneapolis Trotzkyists is bound up with the defense of the seditionists on trial at Washington.

"Baldwin was given prolonged applause as he joined with the other speakers in the denunciation of the Communists and he particularly attacked the 'Daily Worker' for favoring imprisonment of the accused seditionists on trial. The Communists, he charged, favored imprisonment of the Trotzkyists 'because they are anti-Communist.'

"And now," he added, 'the Communists and the Daily Worker are determined to get those fellows in Washington in jail, too, because they are anti-Communists.'

"We take no sides," said Baldwin explaining the 'liberalism' of the ACLU. 'We know that an instrument against one side can be an instrument for another.'"

ROGER N. BALDWIN

A Member of the "Committee of 100,"
NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.

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A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of HCUA on the name ROGER N. BALDWIN, on 5/12/58, by SE [] reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source:

1. The "Daily Worker" for 2/16/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a signer of a letter to the President, issued by the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.
2. An undated letterhead (75th birthday) reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor Celebration Committee.
3. A Program for 1/24/36, pp. 7 & 9, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN sent greetings and was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor Banquet.
4. A letterhead dated 4/11/28, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Committee of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League.
5. A letterhead dated Jan., 1940, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.
6. A letterhead for the 4th Annual Conference, Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D.C., March 2,3, 1940, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of this Conference held by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.
7. The "Daily Worker" for 4/11/38, p. 5, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a supporter of the Celler Bill.
8. An undated letterhead reflected on ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of the New York Tom Mooney Committee.

9. The "Daily Worker" for 2/27/37, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of Tag Day in NYC, held by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
10. "ADA World" for 5/26/49, p.2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN protested against the Attorney General's ruling on the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy as subversive.
11. "New Masses" for 9/28/37, p. 28, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN as a sponsor of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
12. The "Student Almanac" for 1939, p. 32, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker at the 4th National Convention of the American Student Union.
13. The pamphlet, "Presenting the American Student Union," reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.
14. The "Student Almanac" for 1939, p. 32, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker at the 4th National Convention of the American Student Union.
15. An undated letterhead reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of Frontier Films.
16. "New Masses" for 5/13/41, p. 22, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN sent a letter to "New Masses."
17. A leaflet, "Call to a National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance," p. 3, Jan. 5-7, 1935, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance.
18. "Unemployment Insurance Review," Vol. 1, 1935, p.3, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of American Civil Liberties Union, was a signer of Call (to?) the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance.
19. "The People vs. H.C.L.," p. 2, Dec. 11-12, 1937, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of the Consumers National Federation.

20. "The Struggle Against War," June, 1933, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War.
21. The "Daily Worker," for 2/27/37, p. 2, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a speaker at the Legislative Conference of the American League Against War and Fascism.
22. "Fight," for Nov., 1933, p. 10, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a contributor to "Fight," issued by the American League Against War and Fascism.
23. "Fight," for Sept., 1937, p. 18, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a contributor to this publication put out by the American League Against War and Fascism.
24. "New Masses," for 10/5/37, p. 30, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a participant in a Mass Meeting, "China Today! U.S. Tomorrow?", held 10/1/37 by the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People.
25. The "Daily Worker," for 9/29/37, p. 2; reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker, (at a meeting of?) the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, NYC..
26. The "Daily Worker," for 5/25/56, p. 1, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was to be moderator at Fellowship of Reconciliation debate to be held 5/27/56 at Carnegie Hall. Speakers were to be Rev. A.J. MUSTE, W.E.B. DuBOIS, EUGENE DENNIS and NORMAN THOMAS.
27. The "Daily Worker," for 1/11/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was an endorser of the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference.
28. The "Daily Worker," for 1/25/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a supporter of the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference.
29. The "Daily Worker," for 5/14/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker in Newark, (at a meeting of?) United Anti-Nazi Council.

30. The "Daily Worker," for 5/12/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker (at?) United Anti-Nazi Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy.
31. A leaflet, "The Theatre Union," reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of The Theatre Union.
32. A letterhead of the Baltimore Division, dated 5/18/39, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.
33. A pamphlet, "7½ Million . . . ," p. 13, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN as Secretary of the Civil Rights Commission of the American League for Peace and Democracy. (On p. 34 of this pamphlet is reflected same information as #32.)
34. A leaflet, "Call to Action," of American Congress for Peace and Democracy, Jan. 6,7,8, 1939, Washington, D.C., listed one ROGER BALDWIN as an endorser.
35. The "Daily Worker," for 5/3/33, p. 2, c. 7, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Scottsboro Committee of Action.
36. A leaflet, dated March 1, to 8, 1942, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Committee of Sponsors of the National Sharecroppers Week.
37. A pamphlet, "Do You Want to Discover Something New this Summer?," issued by Work Camps for America, 1940, listed one ROGER BALDWIN as a speaker.
38. The "Daily Worker," for 2/9/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, sent a telegram to President ROOSEVELT, urging veto of bill which forbids picketing of foreign embassies.
39. "Congressional Record," for 3/9/48, p. 2484, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a signer of a letter to the Committee on Rules, condemning the Un-American Activities Committee, opposing appropriation, and endorsing H.R. 4564.

40. The "Daily Worker," for 4/16/48, p. 16, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of the National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties.
41. A letterhead, dated 7/11/38, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, labor attorney, was a sponsor of the Anti-Injunction Committee of the United Retail & Wholesale Employees of America.
42. A letterhead, dated 1/30/33, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Committee to Aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation.
43. The "Daily People's World," for 8/14/51, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, opposed the Smith Act.
44. The "Daily Worker," for 11/20/47, p. 7, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker at a "Civil Rights Rally," held at Newark, N.J., (by the?) American Civil Liberties Union.
45. The "Daily Worker," for 1/2/36, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN attended the BARBUSSE funeral.
46. A letterhead, dated Nov., 1931, contained same information as #42.
47. "Congressional Record," for 2/12/51, p. A739 (Hon. R.B. WIGGLESWORTH) gives the record of one ROGER BALDWIN.
48. The "People's World," for 3/9/42, p. 4, listed one ROGER BALDWIN as an honorary pall-bearer at funeral of TOM MOONEY, San Francisco.
49. An undated leaflet published by the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, appealed to President ROOSEVELT for justice in the Browder case.
50. The "Daily Worker," for 9/24/40, p. 5, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a signer of an open letter (sponsored by the CP and ACLU?) demanding discharge of CP defendants in Fulton and Livingston Counties.

51. The "Daily Worker," for 9/5/40, p. 3, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, (sponsoring?) the Lewistown Defense Committee, pledges aid to Communist Party defendants.
52. "The Worker," for 10/30/49, pp. 3 & 6, southern edition, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN of NY was a signer of statement on Communist cases.
53. "Call to the U.S. Congress Against War," Sept. 1-4, 1933, NYC, p. 3, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, was a member of the Arrangements Committee of this Congress.
54. The "Daily People's World," for 6/22/51, p. 1, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, former Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, sponsored a half-page advertisement in the "San Francisco Chronicle," taking issue with the Supreme Court decision upholding conviction of 11 Communists.
55. "The Struggle Against War," for August, 1933, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Arrangements Committee for the U.S. Congress Against War.
56. "NY Times," for 10/20/49, p. 25, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, NY, was a signer of an anti-Communist statement.
57. The "Congressional Record," for 3/8/48, p. 2433, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN opposed deportation of Communists.
58. "Iberica," for 2/15/54, inside front cover, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of "Iberica" (bulletin on Spanish Affairs).
59. Pamphlet, "One Year in Spain," p. 14, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, of the Civil Liberties Union, was a supporter of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy.
60. A letterhead, dated 11/18/36, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Executive Committee of the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

61. "Labor Defender," for Nov., 1928, p. 223, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN as the author of "Liberty Under the Soviets."
62. The "Daily Worker," for 1/2/36, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN headed commission, 3rd U.S. Congress Against War & Fascism.
63. A letterhead, dated 11/3/37, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Executive Committee of the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace.
64. A letterhead, dated 11/3/37, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Bureau of the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace.
65. A letterhead, dated 3/16/37, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the National People's Committee Against Hearst.
66. One ROGER BALDWIN, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, was a speaker at the Michigan Conference for Civil Rights of the Civil Rights Federation, 2/10/40, Detroit, Michigan.
67. A letterhead, dated 7/3/34, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a supporter of the National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism.
68. One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned in the "Liberator" for June, 1923, lp. 16.
69. "Fraternal Outlook," June-July, 1940, p. 15, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker at Stop Dies Rally of the International Workers Order, at Newark, N.J.
70. "Security and Freedom the Great Challenge," 30th Annual Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, published by the American Civil Liberties Union, June, 1951, dedicated to one ROGER N. BALDWIN.
71. "Korean Independence," for August 6, 1947, p. 1, and "Nation," for August 2, 1947, reprinted article by one ROGER N. BALDWIN, entitled, "U.S. Blunder in Korea."

72. "New Masses," for 11/16/37, p. 20, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN as a contributor.
73. A card in GI file bearing name of one ROGER N. BALDWIN has notation to see Foreward to "Violence in Peekskill -- A Report of the Violations of Civil Liberties at Two PAUL ROBESON Concerts Near Peekskill, New York, 1949," published by American Civil Liberties Union, NY.
74. "Youngville, U.S.A.," p. 62, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the National Advisory Committee of the American Youth Congress.
75. A letterhead, dated 4/27/38, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.
76. The "Daily Worker," for 6/14/37, p. 8, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor's Birthday Celebration.
77. The "Daily Worker," for 11/4/57, p. 3, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was to speak with ELIZABETH GURLEY GLYNN, JOHN T. McMANUS and others at a reception Dec. 6, honoring A.J. MUSTE, which was to precede a conference of the American Forum for Socialist Education on Dec. 7, at the Great Northern Hotel, NYC.
78. Program of the "Third Biennial National Conference, of the International Labor Defense," reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN, of the American Liberties Union, sent greetings.
79. "Labor Defender," for July, 1931, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Prisoner's Relief Fund of the International Labor Defense.
80. Program of the Conference, 2/12/40, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a speaker at the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.
81. "Soviet Russia Today," for Sept., 1934, p. 11, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN as a contributor.
82. "The Liberator," for Dec., 1918, p. 11, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN as a contributor.
83. The "Daily Worker," for 5/15/51, p. 3, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN, Ex-Director of American Civil Liberties

Union, as a signer of National Council Against
Conscription report denouncing efforts to spread
the doctrine of inevitability of war.

84. The "Daily Worker," for 11/27/47, p. 2, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN attacked the purge of Communists in the film industry.
85. The "Daily Worker," for 3/31/50, p. 4, reflected the statement of one ROGER N. BALDWIN, of Pittsburgh, Pa., as follows: "Undercover agents are a dirty way of doing business. When this sort of thing happens people stop saying what they think;" defends
86. A letterhead of the International Labor Defense, Dec., 1931, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Prisoners Relief Fund.
87. The "Nation," for 10/12/40, contained article on Conscientious Objectors by one ROGER N. BALDWIN.
88. The "Daily Worker," for 5/12/33, p. 2, cols. 6-7, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the National Mooney Council of Action.
89. "Congressional Record," for 3/8/48, p. 2433, gives the record of one ROGER N. BALDWIN.
90. The "Daily Worker," for 6/9/42, p. 3, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director of American Civil Liberties Union, was the first member to resign from the International Labor Defense; because of Government's prosecution of MINNEAPOLIS TROTSKYITE, whom he and the ACLU were defending,...
91. A pamphlet, "Human Rights -- World Declaration and American Practice," written by one ROGER N. BALDWIN, associated with ACLU, and its Director for 30 years, and published by Public Affairs Committee, Inc.
92. "Voice of Labor," for 10/20/22, p. 12, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Defense Council.

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93. One ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director of ACLU, protested the Committee's investigation of radio commentators' scripts.
94. The "Daily Worker," for 1/11/37, p. 2, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a sponsor of the NYC Conference Against War & Fascism.
95. The "Daily Worker," for 2/24/37, p. 3, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a speaker at a Mass Meeting for Spain, held in Brooklyn (Meeting supported by the CP).
96. The "Daily Worker," for 3/23/48, pp. 2 & 6, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN appealed in behalf of A.B. MAGIL, Communist writer.
97. Commonwealth College, "Fortnightly," for 8/15/37, p. 3, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN endorsed a Reorganization Plan for Commonwealth College.
98. The "Daily Worker," for 5/18/56, p. 6, contained an article which stated one ROGER N. BALDWIN wrote a "friendly review" of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN's autobiography, "I Speak My Own Piece," in "The Nation." The article quoted at length from the review.
99. "NY Times," for 9/25/55, p. 51, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN, National Chairman of American Civil Liberties Union, was a signer of "Open Letter to the American People," released by Americans for Traditional Liberties, asking the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights to probe "Constitutional violations" of the Bill of Rights.
100. A letterhead, dated 3/13/39, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.
101. A letterhead, dated 9/8/30, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Board of Directors of the American Fund for Public Service.

102. A letterhead, dated 2/21/38, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.
103. A letterhead, dated 3/20/26, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.
104. Communist Political Subversion -- Part I.
Hearings before the HCUA, 84th Congress, 2nd session.
Testimony of IRVING NOVICK, 11/13/56:
p. 6247: NOVICK testified that one ROGER BALDWIN joined with him in the formulation of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born.
105. "Trial By Treason," The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL.
House Document No. 206:
p. 124: One ROGER BALDWIN is a signer of a scroll presented to Dr. UREY at a testimonial dinner for UREY at the Hotel Hamilton, in Chicago, 2/12/55. The UREY dinner was under the immediate sponsorship of the Chicago Sobell Committee.
106. Investigation of Communist Propaganda. Hearings before a Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the U.S.; 71st Congress, 2nd session.
Part 1, Vol. 2: (June 18, 19, 1930)
p. 5: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.
p.24: Exhibit 7: -- The Workers Library -- Books for Workers. Listed is "Liberty Under the Soviets" by one ROGER BALDWIN, price 50 cents.
- Part 1, Vol. 3:
(Statement of H. RALPH BURTON, Attorney, Washington, D.C.)
p.14: BURTON stated that one ROGER BALDWIN's activities in different directions were facts --

Part 1, Vol. 4:

- (Testimony of FRANCIS RALSTON WELSH)
- p.141: WELSH Exhibit No. 3: Membership of officers and national committee (of the American Civil Liberties Union) in radical organizations. One ROGER NASH BALDWIN is listed under each of the following organizations: All-America Anti-Imperialist League (Communist); People's Lobby; International Workers Aid; and League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners (anarchist).
- p.142: WELSH Exhibit No. 4 -- re The People's Council of America; one ROGER NASH BALDWIN listed as having worked hard to organize this Council.
- p.143: WELSH Exhibit No. 4: One ROGER NASH BALDWIN, Chief leader of the American Civil Liberties Union is quoted as having said in August, 1924: "The right to advocate a violent revolution, assassination, and proletarian red guard, are all clearly within the scope of free speech and have been so regarded here and in England for decades."
- p.145: WELSH Exhibit No. 7 -- re International Labor Defense Meeting, Chicago, 3/5/30, One ROGER NASH BALDWIN pledged the aid of the ACLU, which he stated he represented at the meeting. According to this exhibit, "he said all differences between the ACLU and the ILD were friendly ones. He greeted the ILD as a revolutionary working-class element. He said, 'The ACLU will attend to getting the money out of the middle class to help the working class.' By working class he meant Communists. He said, 'The real struggle here in the United States today, as throughout the world, is between the militant section of the working class with its political aims on one side and the capitalist class on the other. Now we (meaning the

American Civil Liberties Union) cooperate with the ILD at many points. Spoke of aid given ILD in Gastonia matters and mendaciously said that the political and religious views of the defendants were involved in that case. The case was one of murder and the defendants were convicted and the conviction affirmed on appeal and the defendants skipped their bail. Spoke of the right of the working class to 'conduct the kind of education which the Communist Party conducts' and, evidently referring to himself and friends, stated that some believed 'that even revolutionary agitation is within the free speech.' He spoke of a Bishop of the Episcopal Church whom the ACLU used on occasions. He stated, 'We like to have Bishops and Communists ride around in the patrol wagon together. It does the Bishop a lot of good and doesn't do the Communist any harm.' The Communist was WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. He encouraged the Communists in their intention to carry out an illegal parade in the loop district of Chicago the next day. His address was apparently meant to intimidate the police and encourage the Communists. Promised the Communists the benefits of civil and criminal actions if they were interfered with. He praised the Communist lawlessness and said, 'The violence, my friends, is all violence against you. It is the violence of the police. It is the violence of lawless officials.' He incited to contempt of courts and told Communists they would find the American Civil Liberties Union back of them in their struggle. He classed the police with thugs."

p.151: One ROGER NASH BALDWIN mentioned as a member of the Save Our Schools Committee and a supporter of the I.W.W. war obstructors, etc.

- p.154: One "ROGER NASH BALDWIN, for years the most prominent representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, stated that the whole of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union believed in the right to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, and stated that the advocacy of murder was within the limits of free speech."
- p.156: One "ROGER NASH BALDWIN was described by his co-committeeman, NORMAN THOMAS, as an intellectual anarchist. He associated with the BERKMAN anarchist gang and was on BERKMAN's League for Amnesty for Political Prisoners. ...BALDWIN's correspondence during war times with various subversive pacifists and aiders in opposition to the United States is set forth at length in the Lusk report. The Lusk Committee seized documents, letters, circulars, etc., of the American Civil Liberties Union and has quoted extensively from them. BALDWIN himself has stated the advocacy of violent revolution, assassination, and so forth, is within the rights of free speech. He is the husband of MADELINE DOTY, who is at the head of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at Geneva. He is in various openly Communist organizations such as the All-America Anti-Imperialist League."
- p.220: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as an official of the American Fund for Public Service.
- p.221: One ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the Fund quoted as follows (from a pamphlet, "Twenty Years of Social Pioneering," issued by the League for Industrial Democracy, which organization has received thousands of dollars from the Fund): "To many of us interlocking Directors, and to many of us interlocking contributors, it is pretty difficult to tell from whom to bring

the greetings and to whom to give the greetings. It is sometimes difficult for me to tell whether I am in a meeting of the L.I.D. (meaning League for Industrial Democracy) or a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union."

- p.279: The Vanguard series, issued by the Vanguard Press, which was organized and financed by the American Fund for Public Service, Inc., and distributed by the Rand Book Store, included "Liberty Under the Soviets," by one ROGER N. BALDWIN, ("America's fighter for liberty tells how free Russia is.")
- p.284: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the People's Lobby.
- p.296: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the National Urban League.
- p.297: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a speaker at the Civic Club, a beneficiary of the American Fund for Public Service, Inc.
- p.405: Testimony of ROGER N. BALDWIN. (12/5/30)
to
- p.417: He refused to be sworn because he did not believe in a God that punished him for not telling the truth, and stated there was no other purpose in an oath. He affirmed that he would give to the Committee the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. He stated he represented the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), that he had held the position of Director of this organization for ten years.
- He stated he was not a Communist. He was asked if he were sympathetic with the Communist aims and principles. He replied he was testifying as the representative of the ACLU and did not want to go into his personal views about Communism, politics, religion, or anything else. He was again asked

if he were sympathetic with the aims and principles of the CP. He declined to answer. He was asked if he were a member of the I.W.W. He stated he was a member four short months. He stated, "I declined to accept the invitation of your chairman to appear voluntarily as a witness, because the American Civil Liberties Union is opposed to your committee and its work." "Far more important in our view of the country's best interests is the maintenance of the right of agitation by Communists and all others who have a grievance. The country is not menaced by Communist propaganda."

"Your committee's work is based on the proposition that revolutionary propaganda produces revolution. All history refutes that notion. Revolutions are produced by unbearable conditions, not talk. If the proposals made to your committee to outlaw the Communist movement in the United States, to deport all alien Communists, and to establish a Federal Secret Service to ferret out subversive activities were all put into effect, they could not possibly stop protests against intolerable conditions of living and labor. The best they could do from the point of view of those who seek to outlaw radicalism would be to drive the movement into underground channels, with the inevitable tendency to secret conspiracies and to violence. That condition would be far worse even from a conservative standpoint than the tolerance of radical propaganda."

He then attacks the methods of operation of the committee and its causing scores of unjustified arrests and prosecutions and stated, "Concerning the work of the Civil Liberties Union itself, we state to you that we have no connection

whatever with Communist organizations, except to defend their rights of freedom of speech, press, and assemblage on precisely the same basis as we defend the rights of others. That we have had more occasion to defend Communists than others is due solely to the fact that they are the chief victims of attack. Several Communists have served upon our national or executive committees just as do many Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists. We accept in our membership anybody who believes in the right of free speech, regardless of his political views. We have on occasion defended the rights of reactionaries to free speech, notably in cases affecting the Ku-Klux Klan and the American Fascists in the South, just as we have defended the rights of radicals.

BALDWIN was then asked and affirmed that his organization upheld the right of an alien or American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government, in so far as mere advocacy was concerned. He was asked and affirmed that his organization had no limit on the extent to which a man might go in expressing his ideas or opinions about the Government.

He stated they would not defend a man who had committed an overt act. He testified as to the organization's part in the GASTONIA case. They had furnished bond for the defendants while the cases were on appeal; that five of the defendants were then in Russia, and that they were making an effort to get them back.

BALDWIN testified that Mr. (WILLIAM Z.?) FOSTER was a member of the national committee (of the ACLU), becoming affiliated with the organization in 1920.

BALDWIN testified that he spoke at what was called the "blacklist dinner" in Chicago. He also testified at some length re the Garland Fund -- the original amount was \$950,000, and it skyrocketed to about \$2,000,000. He stated they had about \$500,000 left. He stated they had financed, among other things, the "Daily Worker" Building in Chicago.

Part 3, Vol. 2:

- p.197: One ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the ACLU, mentioned as having been a speaker at a meeting in Chicago, held under the auspices of the National Defense Committee. BALDWIN spoke in defense of _____ FOSTER, and pledged his support, making this statement, "When somebody starts out with a gun, we don't defend them there, but when somebody talks about starting out with a gun, we are right with them there."
- p.509: A letter from one ROGER BALDWIN to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, 6/30/22, re COSTELLO's relation to the Federated Press, asking FOSTER to straighten things out.
- p.548: One ROGER BALDWIN, national chairman of the ACLU, praised Soviet Russia Pictorial, saying, "You are twice as effective in your new appeal. You ought to get a quickened understanding and an increased volume of aid. If anything can make the facts cry aloud, these pictures will. And a picture-minded public must hear them."
- p.566: One ROGER BALDWIN, managing Director of the ACLU, served a term as a draft evader in the Essex County Jail in N.J. in 1918 and 1919; "one of the most active revolutionary radicals in the country."
- p.567: "When BALDWIN was sentenced in 1918 by the Federal Court at New York for the violation of the conscription act, he made a speech to the court, as follows: 'Though at the moment I am of a tiny minority, I feel myself just one protest in a great revolt surging up from among the people -- the struggle of the masses against the rule of the world by the

few -- profoundly intensified by the war. It is a struggle against the political state itself, against exploitations, militarism, imperialism, authority in all forms. It is a struggle to break in full force only after the war. Russia already stands in the vanguard, beset by her enemies in the camps of both belligerents -- the Central Empires break asunder from within, the labor movement gathers revolutionary forces in Britain -- and in our country the Nonpartisan League, radical labor, and the Socialist Party hold the germs of a new social order. Their protest is my protest!"

p.567: One ROGER N. BALDWIN, NYC, listed as a member of the National Committee of the Labor Defense Council.

p.574: An application by the Workers' Education Bureau for an endowment from the American Fund for Public Service brought this reply from one ROGER BALDWIN, trustee of the Fund:

"The American Fund for Public Service, (Inc.), in its support of labor education, shall favor those organizations and institutions which instill into the workers the knowledge and the qualities which will fit them for carrying on the struggle for the emancipation of their class in every sphere. As it seems to us pretty clear that the work of the Workers' Education Bureau does not come within this definition, we come to the conclusion that we could not make the appropriation you request. We do not see our way clear to financing any enterprises except those definitely committed to a radical program of the character indicated in that resolution."

Part 3, Vol. 3: (Testimony of GROVER WHALEN)

p. 21: Chairman of the Committee stated that some very wild and false statements had been released to the public press by one ROGER BALDWIN, representing the American Civil Liberties Union.

Part 4, Vol. 2:

p.540: Address by one Mr. ROGER BALDWIN at a meeting of the International Labor Defense, Chicago, 3/5/30, at Ashland Auditorium.

Part 5, Vol. 2:

p. 47: (Exhibit [] #2) "California Attacked by One of Her Own Laws," compiled by California Committee of American Civil Liberties Union, reflected views of one ROGER BALDWIN, ACLU Director.

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Part 5, Vol. 3:

p.323: (Testimony of [] testified he did not think one ROGER BALDWIN was a Communist.

Part 5, Vol. 4:

p.1243: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the National Board of the American Committee for Fair Play in China, San Francisco, California.

NOTE:

Some references are contained in Part 2, Vol. 2, pp. 394, 395 and Vol. 4, p. 75. These references are not available at HCUA.

Appendix IX:

- p.416f: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the National Bureau of the American League Against War and Fascism.
- p.537: One ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, listed as a member of the National Advisory Board of the 4th American Youth Congress, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 7/4/37.
- p.589: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Council of Book Union, Inc.
- p.758f: National Committee Friends of the Soviet Union endorsed by one ROGER BALDWIN; one ROGER N. BALDWIN on the Reception Committee for the Soviet Flyers of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

- p.949: One ROGER BALDWIN signer of a cablegram sent to the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies on behalf of one ARTHUR EWERT, (sent under auspices of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Brazilian People.)
- p.961: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the Labor Defense Council.
- p.1037: Letter from League of Young Southerners to one ROGER BALDWIN, ACLU, NYC, asking for the publications and news releases of the ACLU for use and assistance in their work.
- p.1142: One ROGER N. BALDWIN, of the ACLU, listed as a member of the National Mooney Council of Action.
- p.1309: One ROGER BALDWIN, of the ACLU, listed as a member of the executive committee of the National Scottsboro Action Committee.
- p.1313: Call for Support to National Student League, (in the "Daily Worker," 9/28/32, p.2) was signed by one ROGER BALDWIN.
- p.1367: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a speaker at the New York Professional Workers Conference on Social Insurance.
- p.1452: Under the heading; Party and Party Line Publications, is listed the publication Liberator and shows one ROGER BALDWIN as a contributing editor.
- p.1471f: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a trustee of the Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee.
- p.1773f: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a U.S.A. supporter of the Anti-Nazi Federation of New York.
One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the Committee to Aid the Striking Fleischer Artists.

107.

Testimony of WALTER S. STEELE, 8/16/38

- p.376: One ROGER BALDWIN listed among those individuals who constituted themselves as a committee in defense of MARCUS GRAHAM (editor of "Man an Anarchist", who had been arrested and ordered deported), and to protest his deportation.

108.

Statement of H.L. CHAILLAUX, Director, National Americanism Commission, American Legion.

- p.436: CHAILLAUX stated he did not know that one ROBERT NASH BALDWIN was a Communist, but he read one of BALDWIN's own statements, written into the Harvard College Class Book of the Class of 1905, published in 1935, as follows:
"My chief aversion is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I see social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control by those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal."
- p.440: One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned as being a speaker at the convention of the Third U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism.
- p.441: One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned as being a member of the executive board of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

109.

Testimony of WALTER S. STEELE, 8/17/38:

- p.462: One ROGER BALDWIN selected to head the nominations committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.
- p.475: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.
- p.502: One ROGER BALDWIN of the ACLU listed as a speaker at a Scottsboro, Mass. Project, staged by the New York District of the International Labor Defense in 1932.
- p.510: One ROGER N. BALDWIN named as the national chairman of the International Committee for Political Prisoners, which was organized in 1924.
- p.518: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as being affiliated with the Friends of the Soviet Union.

- p.520: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the executive committee of the National Civil Liberties Bureau.
- p.521: One ROGER N. BALDWIN named as the moving spirit of the Civil Liberties Bureau during W.W.I and in August, 1917, wrote to LOUIS LOCKNER, then actively engaged in radical circles. warning him to "steer clear from making it look like a Socialist enterprise. Too many people have already gotten the idea that it is nine-tenths a Socialist movement. We want also to look like patriots in everything we do. We want to get a good lot of flags, talk a good deal about the Constitution, and what our forefathers wanted to make of this country. . . ."
- p.522: On 1/11/18, one BALDWIN sent out copies of a report on an I.W.W. meeting which was held in Washington, D.C., on 1/8/18.
- p.524: One ROGER BALDWIN, on 6/21/18, wrote to GEORGE VANDAVEER and suggested that unorganized labor work against the A.F. of L. "with a view to staging a revolution," according to the report of the NY State Legislature Committee, BALDWIN also wrote to others, suggesting boring within and influencing churches. BALDWIN, in writing to conscientious objectors who had been court-martialed for draft violations, assured them that he judged from what he "heard from the War Department" that the men would all be freed as soon as the war was over. But the administration then in power was voted out of office by the American people, and it was not until December, 1934, that the administration now in power (through which many of these radicals returned to office) released them by Presidential decree.

p.526: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of a labor defense committee, established to help raise funds for the Bridgman Communists.

p.533: A review of Liberty Under the Soviets by one ROGER N. BALDWIN, in which book he admitted that he recognized "fully the dangers in the extreme measures of control in effect in Russia today." He deplored "them for their unnecessary cruelties" but admitted his "personal prejudices in favor of the economic achievements and purposes of the Russian revolution." In the book he said, "I have aided enterprises organized in the United States to help Soviet industry and agriculture, and to gain recognition for Russia. . . First-hand contact has strengthened my hopes for the effects of economic liberty and diminished my fears for the effects of political repression." Yet when he was in Russia, he admitted that "hundreds of persons were being arrested. The political prisons were crowded. The Government was nervous. . . Georgia. . . obviously was being held in the Union (of Soviet Republics) against the desire of its people for independence." He stated, "In the Communist philosophy, from the days of KARL MARX to the present, there is no room for the ideas of freedom of speech, press, assemblage, or liberty of individual conscience." It was then pointed out that it was interesting to note in this connection (that there was no liberty worthy of mention in Russia) that the ACLU, of which BALDWIN was an official, was constantly defending the so-called "rights" of Communists in the United States under the American Constitution to advocate the overthrow of the American Government and the establishment of a Communist system.

- p.534: An editorial in the "NY Evening American" attributed the following statement to one ROGER BALDWIN: "I am for Socialism, disarmament, and, ultimately, for abolishing the state itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the properties class and sole control of those who produce wealth." "An article in the 'NY Times,' 4/8/37, indicated that BALDWIN possibly made an acknowledgement of his real purpose and that of the American Civil Liberties Union in behalf of so-called 'civil liberties' in the United States when he said: 'Civil liberties, like democracy, are useful only as tools for change. . . I am interested to maintain such freedom of agitation as can be won not primarily as a political principle, but as a means of resolving economic conflict with a minimum of violence.'" In a statement which appeared in the American Labor Year Book, one ROGER BALDWIN was extremely critical of the immigration, passport, and naturalization regulations of the U.S. Government. He said, in part: "Admission is denied not only to anarchists (since 1901) but to any person who believes in the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States. . . or who disbelieve in organized government."
- p.568: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the executive committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.
- p.574: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
- p.582: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

- p.639: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as among those persons viciously scored by Mr. (JOHN L.?) LEWIS as Moscow agents in attempting to shackling on to our country. Moscow's scheme of industrial unionism through illegal methods such as the sit-down, coercion, thuggery, and lockouts.
 - p.668: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the International Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.
 - p.669: In Dec., 1934, officers and members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation could not come to an amicable agreement on the question of whether the organization should go on record as being willing to participate in the class war. One ROGER BALDWIN was among those who demanded that the organization not refuse to take part in a class war.
 - p.689: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a speaker for the League for Industrial Democracy.
110. Testimony of HARRY MIKULIAK, 10/20/38
- p.1592: One ROGER BALDWIN spoke at the 3rd Session of the Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland, Ohio, 1/5/36, regarding leaflets, pamphlets, and literature -- that the lack of funds for "this ammunition prevents us from educating the masses in our fight for peace." ". . . To work to stop shipments of ammunition, to expose every move toward war and fascism, to resist all military training in schools."
 - p.1594: One ROGER BALDWIN made a suggestion to wire the Senate their opposition to two bills then pending (S. 2253 and H.R. 6427). No objection voiced.
111. Testimony of HERMAN LUHRS, (Joint Americanism Committee of the American Legion at Flint, Michigan), 10/21/38.
- p.1655: One ROGER BALDWIN attended meeting, held under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy, in Flint, Michigan.

112. Testimony of J.B. MATTHEWS, 11/7/38

p.2175: MATTHEWS stated that, in radical circles, for a number of years, there were "so few of us participating in Communist united fronts that ROGER BALDWIN and I were called the united front turns."

p.2177: MATTHEWS presented a copy of the first issue of "Fight" magazine, which contained an article by one ROGER BALDWIN (this publication was the official organ for the League for Peace and Democracy).

p.2178: MATTHEWS stated one ROGER BALDWIN wrote in a book entitled, "Socialism of Our Times," and quoted BALDWIN as saying on page 77 of this book as follows: "I would rather see violent revolution than none at all"; and also on page 77, "Trade Unionism alone furnishes a class base of revolutionary power for the exploited masses"; on page 80, "You cannot touch militant labor activity anywhere without finding Communist inspiration and participation." MATTHEWS stated he had been closely associated with one ROGER BALDWIN in organizational work and that they were active in other than the Communist united-front organizations. MATTHEWS stated that from the above quotations it was clear that Mr. BALDWIN was advocating Communism; He read one more quotation: "Its (Communist Party) main policies center on what are obviously the two greatest issues looking to labor and Socialist control -- the building up of revolutionary consciousness in the trade unions, and support by western labor of the movements for colonial independence." (page 80 of the book.)

113. Testimony of RALPH DeSOLA, 11/21/38

p.2410: DeSOLA stated he believed one ROGER BALDWIN to be a fairly sincere liberal, despite BALDWIN's statement re being in favor of Communism.

114. Testimony of ALICE LEE JEMISON, 11/22/38

p.2448: One ROGER N. BALDWIN, Executive Director of the ACLU, graduate of Harvard, class of 1905, had this to say about himself (in the 30-year class book of that class) and his activities in the ACLU: "I have continued directing the unpopular fight for the rights of agitation, as Director of the American Civil Liberties Union; I have been to Europe several times, mostly in connection with international radical activities. . . I am opposed to production for private profit. . . I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class. . ."

115. Testimony of SAM BARON, 11/23/38, 11/28/38

p.2641: Chairman of the Committee read into the record a statement by one ROGER BALDWIN, Executive Director of the ACLU, which appeared in the Nov., 1933, issue of "Fight," as follows: "For militant tactics against war in the United States, we of the Anti-War Congress must not count upon conscientious objection based upon individual consciences as any force whatever. We must count only upon organized workers, farmers, and their sympathizers among intellectuals, to refuse service to the war machine, to block a declaration of war by a general strike, to impede a war by the same tactics after it has been declared, and failing that the moment the opportunity comes to refuse to go on with the war.

Historically examined, such mass refusals have always been the prelude to ousting the war government and ushering in revolutionary change. No adequate power can be built to end war, as all its opponents identify themselves with the struggle of those classes which alone can abolish the system of conflicting greeds on which war thrives."

p.2660: BARON testified that one ROGER N. BALDWIN was not a Communist, nor did he follow the Communist line in any particular.

p.2661: BARON stated ROGER N. BALDWIN, of the ACLU, was on record in the defense of FRED BEALL (one of the Gastonia defendants who fled to Russia, saw what Communism was in actual practice, and returned to the U.S. to denounce Communism), although U.S. Communists violently denounced BEALL.

116. Testimony of HENRY G. ALSBERG, National Director, Federal Writers Project, WPA.

p.2896: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as Chairman of International Committee for Political Prisoners.

117. Testimony of BURTON A. GASKILL, Grand Sire, Sovereign Grand Lodge of the I.O.O.F., Atlantic City, N.J., 12/9/38.

p.3081: Affidavit of ROGER N. BALDWIN, for inclusion in the Record of House Committee on Un-American Activities:

"Witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities have attempted to connect me with the Communist Party on the basis of a statement published in a Harvard University Class Book of 1935. From a discussion of my economic views, the single statement, "Communism is the goal," is taken to make it appear that I am a Communist. It is obvious

from the text of my statement that the word "Communism" was used in its ordinary dictionary sense to designate the common ownership of property, not the political movement of Communism. "The full text of the statement dealing with my views which were compressed into a single statement from answers to a questionnaire, is as follows:" "My 'chief aversion' is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I am opposed to the New Deal because it strives to strengthen and prolong production for private profit. At bottom I am for conserving the full powers of every person on earth by expanding them to their individual limits. Therefore, I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control by those who produce wealth.

"Communist is the goal. It all sums up into one single purpose -- the abolition of the system of dog-eat-dog under which we live, and the substitution of the most effective nonviolence possible of a system of cooperative ownership and use of all wealth."

"For the sake of the record, I may state that I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party. I could not be a member of that Party under any circumstances, as I am opposed to many of its principles and tactics. I have been criticized publicly over a long course of years for my views

by official Communist spokesmen and in Communist publications, although I have worked with Communists, as with Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists, in practical movements for specific reforms.

". . . The summary of the testimony published by the committee was so condensed as to make it appear that I support and sympathize with the advocates of violence. The position I took, as indicated by the official record was quite contrary. The American Civil Liberties Union for which I was testifying holds that any utterance not associated with an overt act or an attempted act is within the limits of free speech. That has been sound American doctrine since the origin of our Constitution. Personally, I am and have been for years a pacifist, wholly disbelieving in any philosophy program or movement committed to the use of violence in any form. . ."

118. p.3085: One ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director, signed a letter refuting accusations against the ACLU and setting forth purposes of the organization.

119. Testimony of MAURICE L. MALKIN, New York City, 10/13/39.

p.5749: A letter from one ROGER BALDWIN, on p.5750: the letterhead of the ACLU, dated 4/25/29, to MALKIN was introduced, advising MALKIN that the ILD (International Labor Defense) was so willing to help him that there was not point in the ACLU doing so, too (re getting a pardon for MALKIN in the Mineola Case, which arose during 1926 fur strike).

120. Testimony of FRED ERWIN BEAL, former Communist Organizer in Laurence, New Bedford, and Gastonia, 10/18/39.

p.6035: BEAL testified that he wrote one ROBERT

p.6036: BALDWIN, of the ACLU re getting back

p.6037: to America, that BALDWIN urged him to come back to the U.S.A. from Russia, that BALDWIN sent some money to the White Star Line in Warsaw so BEAL might return. BEAL stated he was asked by members of the CP at the Comintern if he didn't know that ROGER BALDWIN was working for the Department of Justice.

BEAL then went on to state that ROGER BALDWIN had put into the newspapers, NY Times especially, the story that BEAL insisted upon coming back.

BEAL stated he did not think ROGER BALDWIN was a Communist. He considered BALDWIN to be a good friend of his.

p.6040: BEAL testified that the Comintern wanted

p.6041: him to sign a document denouncing one ROGER BALDWIN.

p.6126: BEAL stated that upon his arrival in

p.6127: NY, he got in touch with one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the ACLU, as BEAL had been very much in favor of going to prison and not leaving the country at all. He found in ROGER BALDWIN a friend who agreed with him, and, BEAL stressed, ROGER BALDWIN did not harbor him (BEAL was a fugitive -- having jumped bail while Gastonia Case was on appeal) as a fugitive but as a friend who agreed with BEAL that BEAL should go to prison and carry out his ideals of that period of time. BALDWIN took BEAL to his camp in N.J. with the idea in mind that BEAL was going to return to North Carolina and begin his sentence.

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BEAL stated notice was sent to him through ROGER BALDWIN that representatives of the CP wanted to see him, and that BALDWIN took him to his home where BEAL met CLARINA MICHAELSON who was sent by the CP to try to urge BEAL to return to Soviet Russia.

p.6135: BEAL testified re his second trip to Russia, made at the urging of the CP rather than serve sentence. He stated he wanted to return to the U.S. for the second time, and cabled one ROGER BALDWIN for aid. This time BALDWIN cabled him to "go back east." BEAL managed to return to the U.S. where he found ROGER BALDWIN not so friendly. BEAL stated that since he was evidently not going to stay over there, ROGER BALDWIN thought he had better not help BEAL out so much the second time.

p.6144: A letter to one ROGER BALDWIN from J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, of the International Labor Defense, refuting BALDWIN's accusations re the G8stonia defendants, demands for return of bond money put up for the defendants, etc.

121. Testimony of HARRY FREEMAN WARD, 10/23/49

p.6233: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War.

p.6236: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Arrangements Committee for the United States Congress Against War.

p.6249: One ROGER BALDWIN read translation of MAXIM GORKY's greetings to the Chicago Conference (of above Congress?)

p.6278: One ROGER BALDWIN, of New York, listed as a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

122. Testimony of FRANCIS ADAMS HENSON, Consultant on Public Relations, 10/24/39.

- p.6355: HENSON stated that he helped to organize the Medical bureau in Aid of Spanish Democracy, along with one ROGER BALDWIN and others, in 1936.
- p.6371: HENSON stated he was asked by one ROGER BALDWIN to help the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Refugees.

123. Appendix 10 (from p. 6240)

- p.II: Re proceedings of the 2nd U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism, Chicago, Ill., 9/28,29,30/34. One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Arrangements and National Committees.
- p.XVI: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of Organization and Finance Committee at above Congress.
- p.XX One ROGER BALDWIN reported on the financial condition of the Congress.
- p.XXIII: One ROGER BALDWIN reported for the Organization and Finance Committee.
- p.XXV: One ROGER BALDWIN called on the delegates for a collection.
- p.XXVI: One ROGER BALDWIN gave report of the Presiding and Organization Committee, recommending the National Executive Committee for the coming year.
- p.XXVII: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a present member of the National Executive Committee.

124. Testimony of JOSEPH TOORU KANAZAWA, 7/2/43.

- p.9469: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the Japanese American Committee for Democracy.
- p.9490: KANAZAWA stated that he knew one ROGER
- p.9491: BALDWIN, and that BALDWIN resigned from the Japanese American Committee for Democracy because he came to the conclusion that this Committee was controlled by Communists.

125. Testimony of MIKE MASAOKA, 7/3/43.

- p.9529: One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned in a letter from MASAOKA to Mr. MAMARO WAKOSUGH re War Relocation Agency problems.
- p.9550: One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned as having made a contact for MASAOKA with EDWARD J. ENNIS, Director of the Alien Enemy Control Unit, Department of Justice.

- p.9554: One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned further by MASAOKA as being a contact of his.
- p.9557: MASAOKA stated that he met one ROGER BALDWIN at least twice a month (when MASAOKA was in the East) in NYC and Washington, D.C., and that he made special trips to see BALDWIN.
- p.9569: Statement of MASAOKA mentioned that he remained in Washington, D.C., to see one ROGER BALDWIN, National Director of the American Civil Liberties Union re problems dealing with the Japanese Americans.
126. House Report No. 2, 76th Congress, 1st Session, 1/3/39.
- p.45: One ROGER BALDWIN is mentioned as being the author of an article which appeared in "Fight" magazine.
127. Testimony of LUCIEN KOCH, member of the Shipbuilding Commission, National War Labor Board, 3/29/43.
- p.3026: KOCH stated he thought one ROGER BALDWIN
- p.3027: was a member of the Advisory Board of Commonwealth College.
128. Testimony of Wm. PICKENS, Principal Defense Securities Specialist, Treasury Department, 4/2/43.
- p.3303: PICKENS stated he had known one ROGER BALDWIN quite well for many years, and that BALDWIN never said anything about attending the Congress of the League Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism, held in Brussels, Belgium.
- p.3305: One ROGER BALDWIN, according to the Daily Worker of 3/9/27, was a delegate, representing the National Urban League, sent to Brussels to the aforementioned Congress.
- p.3311: PICKENS mentioned that one ROGER BALDWIN attended a dinner of the All America Anti-Imperialist League at which PICKENS spoke.

- p.3317: PICKENS stated he knew -- BALDWIN was not a Communist.
129. Testimony of ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Government Secretary, Virgin Islands, Department of the Interior, 4/16/43.
p.3502: LOVETT stated one ROGER BALDWIN was the prime mover in the matter of the Garland Fund or American Fund for Public Service.
130. Hearings re the Communist Infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry.
Testimony of MORRIE RYSKIND, 10/22/47.
p.183: RYSKIND stated that a good part of the money collected for the Scottsboro case went to the Daily Worker and that confirmation of this might be obtained from one Mr. ROGER BALDWIN of the American Civil Liberties Union.
131. Hearings re Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups -- Part I
Testimony of GEORGE K. HUNTON, 7/13/49:
p.450: HUNTON stated that, in connection with the Scottsboro Case, one Mr. ROGER BALDWIN was among those who found the Communists exploited the defendants, goaded the South, defied the courts and prosecutors, and made it impossible to secure freedom for the defendants.
132. Hearings on Legislation to Outlaw Certain Un-American and Subversive Activities (H.R. 3903 and H.R. 7595)
Testimony of ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS; 3/24/50.
p.2189: HAYS stated he had personally never belonged to a front organization, but that he had been asked to join an organization and he would ask who was on the Board, and he would be told one ROGER BALDWIN was among those on the Board.
133. Expose of the CP of Western Pennsylvania -- Part 3
(Based on testimony of MATTHEW CVETIC)
p.3046: One ROGER BALDWIN, of the ACLU, wrote on his return from Korea, in 1947, that the regime was a "feeble puppet government" and "a police state."

134. Hearings re Communist Activities Among Farm Groups;
82nd Congress, 1st Session.
Testimony of LEMENT U. HARRIS, 3/9/51.
p.1911: HARRIS testified that he was introduced
to HAROLD WARE by one ROGER BALDWIN,,
of the Civil Liberties Union.
135. Investigation of Communist Activities in the NYC
Area -- Part 7.
(Based on testimony of MANNING JOHNSON)
p.2173: (MANNING JOHNSON Exhibit #11 --"Fight,"
Dec., 1935, p.2). One ROGER BALDWIN
listed as a member of the National
Executive Committee, American League
Against War and Fascism.
p.2183: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a speaker
at the 2nd National Congress of the
Canadian League Against War and Fascism,
held at Toronto on Dec. 6, 7, and 8, 1935.
p.2192: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a speaker
at Barbusse Memorial Service at the
Third U.S. Congress Against War and
Fascism, held at Cleveland, Ohio (from
MANNING JOHNSON Exhibit #13 -- "Fight,"
Feb., 1936, pp. 8,9.)
p.2193: At the Congress mentioned in p. 2192
above, one ROGER BALDWIN presented
the 10 point program considered by
the war and fascism commission.
136. Testimony of Bishop G. BROMLEY OXNAM, 83rd Congress,
1st Session, 7/21/53:
p.3632: Bishop OXNAM stated he resigned from
his post as editorial adviser of the
Protestant Digest because one ROGER
BALDWIN of the ACLU told him that that
magazine had Communist support. He
stated that ROGER BALDWIN was a man
who knew that whole field intimately
and that he resigned because of what
BALDWIN had told him.

p.3656: Bishop OXNAM stated he thought one Mr. ROGER BALDWIN led a movement to insist that no Communists be allowed in the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

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The following organizations have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
American League Against War and Fascism
American League for Peace and Democracy
American Youth Congress
Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder
Civil Rights Federation (Michigan)
Commonwealth College
Communist Party, USA, its subdivisions,
subsidiaries and affiliates
Friends of the Soviet Union
Industrial Workers of the World
International Labor Defense
International Workers Order
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

The "Peoples' World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist weekly newspaper.

NY 100-7629 Sub C

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Committee for Struggle Against War:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which was formed in response to directives from a World Congress Against War held in Amsterdam in August 1932 under the auspices of the Communist International. Avowed Communist Donald Henderson was executive director of the American Committee.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIP Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 47 and 119)."

NY 100-7629 Sub C

AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION (AFFSE)

According to an article appearing in the May 13, 1957, issue of the "Daily Worker", page 1, column 2, A. J. Muste, well known pacifist, announced the formation of the AFFSE. According to this article, the American Forum seeks to promote "study and serious untrammelled political discussions among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives, . . . however deep and bitter their differences may have been."

This article reflects that a forty-member national committee had been established and, according to Muste, these persons serve as individuals and not as delegated representatives of any group.

Muste, according to this article, stated that the American Forum is not a membership organization and does not propose to promote united action by various parties or groups, mergers or new organizations.

The article reflects that among other purposes the AFFSE seeks to call attention to the various publications of the groups whose people engage in discussion; to publish bulletins or pamphlets; to organize regional and national conferences; contribute to the building of new morale and ethic, a spirit of fair play, labor militancy, determination and hope among the progressive and radical forces in this country.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist daily newspaper which suspended operation on January 13, 1958.

NY 100-7629 Sub C

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Friends of the Chinese People:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front. . . .
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 40 and 147.)
- "2. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' organization
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 145 and 146)."

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Friends of Spanish Democracy:

- "1. 'In 1937-1938, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations *** such as *** American Friends of Spanish Democracy.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 82)."

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AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE (GARLAND FUND).

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund):

- "1. Established in 1922 * * * it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the Party, served on the board of directors of the Fund. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76.)"

AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Student Union:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which was the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists in Columbus, Ohio in 1935. The Young Communists League took credit for the creation of the organization, which offered free trips to the Soviet Union. It claimed to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities Annual Report, H. R. 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80; also cited in Annual Reports, H.R. 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 9, H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 16; and in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 159.)
- "2. Cited as subversive and un-American.
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

AMERICANS FOR TRADITIONAL LIBERTIES

According to a fact sheet furnished by a confidential informant on February 7, 1955, Americans for Traditional Liberties (ATL) was organized in January, 1955, to coordinate activities of groups then working independently to combat "MC CARTHYISM" in the United States. The aim of the organization is to act as a national clearing house to keep anti-McCarthy groups in touch with each other and to suggest a concerted program to fight threats to Traditional American Liberties.

The Communist Party (CP), according to another confidential informant, was extremely interested in the formation and activity of ATL, although there is no indication that the CP is in any way interested in the committee. Members of the committee will be non-party people, unaware of the CP interest in the committee. Herbert Danska, a CP member residing in Queens, New York, will be the man behind the scene for the CP.

According to the "New York Herald Tribune" of January 23, 1956, page 13, column 1, ATL made public telegrams sent from its headquarters, 40 East 40th Street, New York City, to the United States Senate calling for the Senate to take "appropriate action" against Senator James O. Eastland for Eastland's inquiry into the political beliefs of employees of the "New York Times". This has been a recent ATL activity.

A pretext telephone call was made by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on January 2, 1957, to Ella J. Baker at Plaza 5-7169. Ella Baker advised that the ATL, formerly located at 40 East 40th Street, New York City, was no longer in existence since the McCarthy issue had subsided. She said that she had previously handled office correspondence for ATL, but that ATL no longer maintained office space or any personnel.

ALL-AMERICAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the All-American Anti-Imperialist League:

- "1. Cited as a Communist-front organization.
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).
- "2. Cited as a Communist enterprise.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 76.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

BOOK UNION

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Book Union:

- "1. 'Distributors of Communist literature.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
House Report 1311 on the CIO Political
Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 96.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

CONSUMERS' NATIONAL FEDERATION

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Consumers' National Federation:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action
Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 155.)"

FEDERATED PRESS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Federated Press:

- "1. Cited as a Communist-controlled organization financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 76, 143, and 147.)
- "2. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' news syndicate.
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 95 and 146.)
- "3. 'Certain Communist fronts are organized for the purpose of promulgating Communist ideas and misinformation into the bloodstream of public opinion. Examples of such organizations are the * * * Federated Press. * * *'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

George Hewitt, who was a member of the Communist Party from about 1929-1943, advised in 1948 that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is an inter-racial Pacifist type of organization designated by religious rather than political motives. It strives to solve the world problems through the use of peaceful means rather than by force and it also strives to eliminate racial discrimination.

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FIGHT

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning Fight:

- "1. Cited as the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, later known as the American League for Peace and Democracy.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 113 and 138; also cited in Annual Report H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 15.)"

The American League Against War and Fascism has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade:

- "1. In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations. Among these was the above Communist-front organization.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 82 and 125; also cited in Annual Report, H.R. 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 9.)"

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 96 and 129.)
- "2. Among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1115 on the Civil Rights Congress, November 17, 1941, originally released September 2, 1947, p. 3.)"

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JAPANESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Japanese-American Committee for Democracy:

- "1. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' organization. (Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, p. 146.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

KOREAN INDEPENDENCE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning Korean Independence:

- "1. A bilingual Korean-English newspaper published in Los Angeles since approximately 1943, which is exclusively a vehicle for Communist Party propaganda.
The newspaper is circulated among persons of Korean descent for the purpose of popularizing the policies of the Soviet Union, the North Korean Government, and the Communist conspiracy in America.
(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1955, H. R. 1648, January 17, 1956, originally released January 11, 1956, p. 27.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

LABOR DEFENDER

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Labor Defender:

- "1. A 'Communist magazine.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
Annual Report, H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 18.)"

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

The following is noted concerning the League for Industrial Democracy (LID):

The report of the Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Volume I, page 683, reflects that in 1905, the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, later known as the League for Industrial Democracy, had been organized for the purpose of promoting and creating interest in Socialism among college men and women, graduates and undergraduates.

Walter F. Steele, Editor of the "National Republic", when testifying before the Dies Committee, stated that the League for Industrial Democracy was the main propaganda and agitation ^{agency} of the Socialists.

The March 25, 1955, issue of "USA - An American Bulletin of Fact and Opinion", on page 1, relates "The League for Industrial Democracy does not want public attention drawn to the fact that from 1905 until 1920, the organization was called 'The Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society.' The motive for this main change was a strong one. Even in 1921, at the tender age of 16, the organization's record was so bad, and public reaction against alien ratification was so strong, that the members found it wise to adopt a collective alias

"Under the new name, the LID is Socialist, and whenever the old-time members of the Executive Board found it expedient, they formed a united front with Communists and pro-Communists."

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LIBERATOR

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Liberator:

- "1. A Communist magazine.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
Annual Report, H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p.
18.)"

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MEDICAL BUREAU TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy:

- "1. Cited as one in a series of Communist enterprises which have dealt with Spain and the Spanish Civil War. Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee *** (Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2233, June 7, 1946, p. 27.)"

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE
ROSENBERG CASE

It is noted that the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., states the following on page 60 with respect to the National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front 'organized at least as early as November 1951' to conduct the United States phase of 'a mammoth propaganda campaign designed to obliterate the crime (of) and exploit the Rosenbergs and their codefendant, Morton Sobell, for the purposes of international communism.' Headed by Joseph Brainin as chairman, the committee had national headquarters at 1050 6th Avenue, New York City, and more than 40 local affiliates throughout the country. (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 'Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell,' August 25, 1956, pp. 1, 13, 21, 63 and 120; also cited in Annual Report for 1955, House Report 1648, January 17, 1956, originally released January 11, 1956, pp. 3 and 29-33.)
- "2. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. When the

NY 100-7629 Sub C

'Communist Party itself is under fire these
offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate
Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans,
S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL INSURANCE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front, held January 5, 6, 7, 1935, in Washington, D.C., and headed by Herbert Benjamin, leading Communist.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 94 and 116.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

NATIONAL COUNCIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

The Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activity, 1948, California Legislature, contains the following statement on page 321 regarding the National Council Against Conscription:

"Undoubtedly many of these good people (religious groups and others opposed to war at any time) will be innocently attracted to a Communist front such as the National Council Against Conscription."

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NATIONAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE AGAINST HEARST

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National People's Committee Against Hearst:

- "1. A subsidiary organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy:
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 16.)"

"NEW MASSES"

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "New Masses":

- "1. A Communist periodical.
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688.)
- "2. 'Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service' (Garland Fund).
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944; pp. 48 and 75; also cited in Annual Reports, H.R. 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80; and H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub G

NEW YORK TOM MOONEY COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the New York Tom Mooney Committee:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front. For many years, the Communist Party organized widespread agitation around the Mooney case, and drew its members and followers into the agitation. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 154.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

PROTESTANT DIGEST

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "Protestant Digest":

- "1. 'A magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 48.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION FARMS, INC.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.:

- "1. Cited as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor. It received funds from the Garland Fund. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 76.)"

"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "Soviet Russia Today":

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 167; also cited in Annual Report, H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 21.)
- "2. Cited as a 'Communist-front publication.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 108.)
- "3. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' publication.
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 96 and 146.)"

UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

The "Guide to Subversive organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the United States Congress Against War:

"1. The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. * * * The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union. * * * Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program."
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683.)

"2. Convened in St. Nicholas Arena, New York City, on September 29, 1933 * * * it was completely under the control of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was a leading figure in all its deliberations. In his report to the Communist International, Browder stated: "The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly."
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 119; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 11; and House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 14.)"

VANGUARD PRESS

This organization was described by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a "Communist enterprise" which was established by a donation from the American Fund for Public Service. This description appeared in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, which also stated that "one of the first large publishing projects of the Vanguard Press" was "a series of propaganda books on Russia, edited by Jerome Davis."

The Committee on Un-American Activities is in receipt of a sworn affidavit, dated May 24, 1951, from one James Henle, who identified himself as president of Vanguard Press, Inc., of New York. Mr. Henle stated that he purchased one-half the voting stock of Vanguard Press, Inc., from the owner, the American Fund for Public Service, on December 1, 1928, and that he and his wife acquired the balance of the stock on January 2, 1932. Since 1932, Mr. Henle deposes, "no member of the Garland Fund (American Fund for Public Service) has ever served as an officer, director or employee of Vanguard Press," and "The members of my family - those who actually control and run the business of Vanguard - are uncompromisingly anti-Communist." Mr. Henle stated that Vanguard Press published its propaganda books on Russia prior to his acquisition of the corporation's stock.

References to Vanguard Press appear in the May 14, 1951, edition of this committee's Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, page 114. The committee has agreed to delete the reference from this edition of the Guide.

NY 100-7629 Sub C

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

With respect to the Workers Library Publishers, the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following:

- "1. An 'official Communist Party publishing agency.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 8; also cited in Annual Report, H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 18.)
- "2. 'Official Communist Party, U.S.A., publishing house.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1920 on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence, May 11, 1948, pp. 72 and 80.)"

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *also*

DATE: 10-31-58

FROM : G. H. Scatterday *hpr*SUBJECT: ✓ ROGER NASH BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNINGALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/ok

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Push

Roger Nash Baldwin, former president of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), has, according to the November 1, 1958, issue of "The Nation" said, "'The Nation' does a greatly needed service in casting a fair and critical eye on the FBI, so immune to criticism, and yet so dangerous to our liberties." Baldwin was referring to Fred J. Cook's article "The FBI" which appeared in "The Nation" issue of October 18, 1958.

Baldwin, a political reformer, was born in Massachusetts in January, 1884, and received his A.B. degree from Harvard University in 1904. He was a director of the ACLU in New York City from 1917 to 1950. During 1950-55 he served as National Chairman of ACLU and also from 1950 to date has been advisor to ACLU on international matters. Although Baldwin has been the subject of limited inquiries by the Bureau, a complete investigation of his activities has not been made. (Who's Who 1958-59; 100-49565-57)

Baldwin first came to the attention of the Bureau in 1921 when in a speech at Cincinnati, Ohio, he indicated contempt for the Government by stating, "The three organizations obtaining the best results for the object of free speech and assemblage in the United States, which has been denied them due to the war hysteria, were the Non Partisan League, the I. W. W. and the Communist Party." He admitted that "there is a great deal of propaganda for bolshevism in the universities and I hope there will be bolshevism in every college in the country."

During 1941 Baldwin, in traveling across the United States, contacted several Agents in charge for the purpose of determining how we investigated complaints of what Baldwin called subversive activities, and criticized our referral to local law enforcement officers of some of these complaints. He stated they were untrained with hardly the degree of discretion and horse sense the Agents possess. In this connection the files indicate that Baldwin has

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Memorandum Scatterday to Belmont
Re: Roger Nash Baldwin
Information Concerning

written the Bureau on numerous occasions criticizing our use of local law enforcement officers and making the observation that where freedom of speech and publication is involved, the danger of trespassing upon rights is so great that only Agents should handle them. The Bureau has replied cordially to his correspondence in each instance.

In December, 1941, Baldwin, in talking to the Director, said that the "New Republic" had asked him to prepare an article on the FBI which he expected to have finished in December, 1941, and prior to publication would be submitted to the Director for his comments and reply. In connection with the preparation of this article Baldwin stated that he had sent a man out and told him to "get all the dirt he could on the FBI" but that after two weeks the man came back with almost nothing. Baldwin said the article would deal particularly with the new duties delegated to the Bureau by Congress in the line of subversive investigations and observed that criticism would naturally be directed at us by reason of the nature of such investigations.

Bufiles also revealed that Baldwin has been a member of or associated with numerous organizations, many of which have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. During World War I Baldwin served a short period in prison for violation of the Selective Service Act. Bufiles also indicate that he has been active in directing the ACLU since its inception, but has denied association of this organization with the Communist Party. In public utterances he has advocated terrorism in accomplishing industrial and political reform in the United States. He has stated that it is his belief that aliens have the right to "advocate murder and assassination." The files further reveal that Baldwin has stated, "I am not a communist as is well known. I could not join the communist movement both for theoretical and practical reasons. Philosophically I am an anarchist though I do not work at it." Baldwin ~~made~~ made this statement in June, 1929.

In January, 1956, Baldwin visited the San Juan, Puerto Rico, Office and advised the Agent in charge that he was in Puerto Rico at the request of the Governor to survey existing legislation and procedures in Puerto Rico with respect to civil rights. Upon leaving

Memorandum Scatterday to Belmont
Re: Roger Nash Baldwin
Information Concerning

the office Baldwin expressed appreciation for the reception he had received at our office and stated that he had the utmost respect for and confidence in the Federal Bureau of Investigation "from top on down."

According to our files Baldwin has not corresponded with the Bureau, nor has he been in contact with Bureau personnel since 1956. (100-49565 Main File)

ACTION:

None. For information.

auth ✓

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *W.B.*

FROM : MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY

SUBJECT: ROGER NASH BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: October 21, 1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 8-20-86 BY 2082 J/S/MS

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Mohr	_____
Nease	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

DeLoach
McGuire
W.C. Sullivan

On instant date Mr. Tolson requested information concerning the above-captioned individual. There is attached a memorandum dated October 31, 1958, captioned as above which sets forth information in Bufiles with regard to Baldwin. Briefly this memorandum mentions that the November 1, 1958, issue of "The Nation" said "The Nation" does a greatly needed service in casting a fair and critical eye on the FBI so immune to criticism, and yet so dangerous to our liberties." The memorandum also mentions Baldwin's membership or association with numerous organizations, many of which have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Also incorporated in this memorandum is information concerning Baldwin's contacting several Agents in charge during 1941 for the purpose of determining how we investigated complaints of what Baldwin called subversive activities.

Baldwin, long associated with the American Civil Liberties Union, is a political reformer who has stated that philosophically he is an anarchist though he does not work at it.

Bufiles reveal that since October 31, 1958, Baldwin has come to the attention of the Bureau in connection with American Civil Liberties Union activity and also as President of the International League for the Rights of Man of the United Nations. In the latter capacity, he spent approximately one month in January and February, 1959, in Puerto Rico in connection with civil rights activities.

In July, 1959, the Bureau was advised that Baldwin, as Chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man was a member of the board of trustees for the Institute for Mediterranean Affairs, an independent non political organization established for the purpose of investigating the basic problems of the Mediterranean area. (100-49565)

ACTION:

None. For Mr. Tolson's information.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont

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* Baldwin in

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NY 100-7629 Sub D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OCT 14 1963

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

Roger Nash Baldwin, Member
of the "Committee of 100"
In Support of The National
Association For the Advance-
ment of Colored People, Legal
Defense and Educational Fund,
Incorporated

Background information concerning ROGER NASH
BALDWIN was obtained from the 1962 - 1963 edition of
"Who's Who in America"; the 1963 Manhattan Telephone
Directory and the 1963 Bergen County, New Jersey,
Telephone Directory.

The following are the confidential sources
utilized in the attached letterhead memorandum:

- (U) First Source
Second Source
Third Source
Fourth Source
Fifth Source
Sixth Source
Seventh Source
Eighth Source

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NY 694-S*

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Ninth Source

(Requested)

(requested)

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- 2-Bureau (61-3176)(Encls 4)
(100-49565)
1-New York (100-8424)
1-New York (100-7629 Sub D)

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NY 100-7629 Sub D

In BALDWIN's case file there is a photostat which is identified by a notation "From ONI at conference held 9/18/42." This is typed material concerning captioned individual and among other things, it is stated "in 1934 he was reported to be an honorary member of the National Advisory Board of the Communist Party of the United States." This allegation is not included in attached memorandum in the absence of information as to its accuracy and its meaning if accurate.

In view of the fact that BALDWIN is a prominent person who is well known in his field and because instant memorandum would be more extensive than its proper scope if all of the many aspects of BALDWIN's past Communist and other subversive associations were set forth, representative material only taken from various periods in his career has been included in the attached memorandum.

It is noted that BALDWIN was interviewed by agents of the New York Office in the past and displayed an apparently cooperative attitude. On 2/21/49 he was interviewed in connection with the "Jay David Whittaker Chambers, with aliases, Perjury; Espionage -R; Internal Security - R" case (report of SA ROBERT F.X. O'KEEFE, dated 3/10/49, at New York, pages 82-86).

BALDWIN acknowledged acquaintance with several individuals who figured prominently in the above-mentioned "Chambers" case and that he had been acquainted with HAROLD WARE and his mother, Mother BLOOR, over a period of 25 years. He stated that he visited HAROLD WARE in Russia and spent a week or ten days at the Cooperative Farm operated by WARE in Southern Russia in the early 1930's.

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NY 100-7629-Sub D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The attached letterhead memorandum is classified "confidential" because it contains information from confidential sources of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which would jeopardize the security of these sources and thus have an adverse effect on the nation's security.

This letterhead memorandum is also classified "confidential" because it contains information from confidential investigative techniques, the unauthorized disclosure of which would have an adverse effect on the nation's security.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

61-3176

OCT 14 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin, Member
of the "Committee of 100"
In Support of The National
Association For The Advancement
of Colored People, Legal
Defense and Educational Fund,
Incorporated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Roger Nash Baldwin, a white male, was born January 21, 1884, in Wellesley, Massachusetts. He was graduated from Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1904 with a Bachelor of Arts degree and received his Master of Arts degree from Harvard University in 1905. Baldwin was the Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, New York, New York, from 1917 to 1950, National Chairman from 1950 to 1955, and an advisor on international work since 1950. He is also Chairman of the Board of the International League for Rights of Man. Baldwin maintains residences at Dell Brook Farm, Midvale Road, Oakland, New Jersey, and 282 West 11th Street, New York, New York. Baldwin maintains an office at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

The "New York Times", a New York daily newspaper, of October 31, 1918, contained an article captioned "Pacifist Professor Gets Year in Prison".

Classified by 282551/08
Declassify on: OADR
11-4-86

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

The article stated that Roger Nash Baldwin, former Director of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, and an official of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), was sentenced on October 30, 1918, to one year in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, for violating the Selective Service Law, and refusing to submit to a physical examination.

In an article in the "New York Times" of May 27, 1921, Roger Nash Baldwin was accused by the American Legion for utterances at the Amnesty Rally at Cincinnati, Ohio, in which he was charged with having advocated methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial and political reform in that he desired a Soviet Government in America.

The "New York Times" of April 13, 1923, contained an article in which Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), was stated to have charged that the \$800,000 Garland Fund, which was known as the American Fund for Public Service, was being used to sponsor a Communist Revolution in the United States. This news article listed Roger Baldwin as one of the early advisors to the young Garland, and also as a trustee of this fund.

Concerning American Fund for Public Service, also known as Garland Fund, a characterization is contained in the appendix hereto.

The "New York Times" of April 18, 1923, contained an article that Roger Baldwin was the subject of an indictment, along with eight others of the ACLU, charging grand larceny, in that these individuals were alleged to have defrauded two men in a scheme to colonize American workmen in Russia.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Benjamin Gitlow, Communist candidate for Vice President of the United States in 1924 and 1928, writing in his book "I Confess", subtitle "The Truth About American Communism", stated on page 226 (concerning the reaction of Communist Party leaders to the Supreme Court verdict on June 8, 1925, upholding his conviction for criminal syndicalism):

"While my comrade who was head of the I.L.D. (International Labor Defense), together with his caucus chieftain, the erstwhile standard bearer of the Party, could not think beyond the possibility of having a factional opponent removed, even if the removal was to a capitalist prison in punishment for service to the Party, and both rejoiced at the thought, the American Civil Liberties Union, at that time free of any vestige of Communist control and attacked by our Party because its head, Roger Baldwin, had the temerity to champion the cause of political prisoners in Russia, immediately appealed to Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York to pardon me."

The I.L.D. has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In the book entitled "The Socialism of Our Times," published in June, 1929, Baldwin contributed an article entitled "The Need for Militancy." This book represented papers delivered at a symposium on Socialism by a number of prominent writers. Mr. Baldwin's article appeared on Pages 76 to 83 of this book,

On Page 77 Baldwin refers to himself as a Pacifist. He stated that he believes in revolution, "not necessarily the forceful seizure of power in armed conflict, but the process of class movements determined to expropriate the capitalist class, and to take control of all social property."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

Baldwin indicated that he is opposed to revolutionary violence and states, "I would rather see violent revolution than none at all, though I do not personally support it because I believe other means far better. Even the terrible cost of bloody revolution is a cheaper price to humanity than the continued exploitation and wreck of human life under the settled violence of the present system."

On Pages 80 and 81, Baldwin wrote, "Despite my favorable attitude to Communist activities which is justified, I think, by the facts, I am not a Communist, as is well known. I could not join the Communist movement, both for theoretical and practical reasons. Philosophically, I am an Anarchist, though I do not work at it."

The "New York Times" of December 6, 1930, contained an article captioned "Foster and Aides Put Red Flag First." This article stated that Roger Nash Baldwin testified before the Dies Committee that William Z. Foster, a Director in the ACLU until a month ago, had resigned because of holding different social views than that organization. Representative Hamilton Fish, of the Dies Committee, asked Baldwin the question, "Does your organization uphold the right of an alien to advocate murder or assassination?" Baldwin replied, "Yes, of course, but only generally speaking, as in Hyde Park, London, and in a specific incitation. It is the healthiest thing for a country."

Concerning William Z. Foster, a source advised on August 14, 1962, that William Z. Foster was formerly National Chairman of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), who died in Moscow, Russia, in early September, 1961.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

In an article in the "Washington Herald", a Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, dated October 18, 1935, Baldwin was quoted as saying, "Therefore, I am for Socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the property class, and sole control of those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal."

[redacted] an alleged former Comintern representative whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished reliable and unreliable information, has stated "the connections of Roger Baldwin with the CP were rather unhappy. While the Communists were always trying to use the services of Baldwin and his ACLU in order to defend the Communists, who were persecuted in America or some other country, they were always antagonized by the spirit of free criticism of Roger Baldwin and his refusal to take instructions from the CP to any extent or to the extent that fellow travelling liberals take instructions. The explanation of this fact lies in Baldwin's background. In his youth he was a 'Wobbly'. He was IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), with a strong individualistic and anarchistic trend. Baldwin disassociated his activities very definitely from any Communist cause from the early 1930's. At that time, the Communists, not being able to profit from the activities of the ACLU, created a new organization which was called the Congress for Civil Liberties..... Baldwin is not a Communist. He is a genuine Liberal. His activities sum up in a defense of the American Constitution, in which he has implicit faith. The ACLU thinks that by the observation of the American Constitution there are no civil liberties problems. Baldwin is of the conviction that America does not need any revolutionary upheaval to improve its institutions. The Constitution gives such opportunity for any aspirations."

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Roger Nash Baldwin

The IWW has been designated
pursuant to Executive Order
10450.

The "New York Times", Thursday, January 5,
1939, on page 9, column 6, carries an article entitled
"RED LINK IS DENIED BY LIBERTIES UNION. Baldwin Also
Sends Disavowal to Dies Committee."

This article reads as follows:

"The American Civil Liberties Union disavowed any connection with the Communist Party in an affidavit sent yesterday to Representative Martin Dies, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In a separate affidavit Roger N. Baldwin, director of the Union, denied that he had ever belonged to the Communist Party and said he was opposed to many of the party's principles and tactics.

"The affidavits were prepared at the invitation of Robert E. Stripling, Secretary of the Dies Committee, who assured the Civil Liberties Union that they would be included in the official record of the committee.

"The American Civil Liberties Union has never been a front or part of a united front for the Communist Party," the organization's affidavit said. "The American Civil Liberties Union has no direct or indirect connection with any political movement.

"The American Civil Liberties Union has no connection with any other organization except when cooperating on some particular issue or case involving a question of civil liberties. It has no official connection as testified to by certain witnesses with the International Labor Defense, . . . or the American League for Peace and Democracy.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

"The management of the Union is vested in a board of directors and a national committee of seventy, only one of whom is a Communist, the affidavit declared.

"The Union's sworn statement was signed by John Haynes Holmes, vice chairman; B.W. Heubach, treasurer; and Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin described himself as 'a pacifist, wholly disbelieving in any philosophy, program or movement committed to the use of violence in any form'".

The American League for Peace and Democracy has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "New York Post", a New York daily newspaper, of December 21, 1940, in its column entitled "The American Forum" supplied the question for consideration "Should Communist and Nazi organizations be outlawed?" Baldwin argued through this medium the negative of the question. He asserted, "No government has ever been overthrown by free speech, but plenty of governments have been overthrown by suppressing free speech. Our civil liberties in the long run constitute our only sure bulwark against dictatorship, and the only means of democracy."

An article entitled "Trotzkyist Case Tied to Defense of 29 - Baldwin" appearing in the "Daily Worker" dated June 10, 1944, reflects in part that:

"Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union told an audience of Trotskyists and others at a meeting Thursday night that the hope of the 18 imprisoned Minneapolis Trotskyists was bound up with the defense of the seditionists on trial at Washington."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

This article stated that:

"Baldwin was given prolonged applause as he joined with the other speakers in the denunciation of the Communists and he particularly attacked the 'Daily Worker' for favoring imprisonment of the accused seditionists on trial. The Communists, he charged, favored imprisonment of the Trotzkyists 'because they are anti-Communist.'

"And now," he added, 'the Communists and the "Daily Worker" are determined to get those fellows in Washington in jail, too, because they are anti-Communists.'

"We take no sides," said Baldwin explaining the 'liberalism' of the ACLU. 'We know that an instrument against one side can be an instrument for another.'

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

On the question, "Is Communism a threat to the American way of life?", a debate on the weekly radio program "American Town Meeting of the Air", conducted on January 11, 1945, over Radio Station WJZ, Baldwin stated that Communism was merely a nuisance.

According to the "New York World-Telegram", a New York Daily newspaper, of January 12, 1945, the day after the above broadcast, Baldwin was quoted as saying "Not in the worst years of the depression did Communism attract any number of adherents. They are not and have never been a threat, but I will agree that they are a nuisance. They mislead innocent liberals and are an obstacle to democracy, in that they confuse the issue.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

"The purpose of Communism inevitably is to act as agencies of the Soviet Union. Russia wants to win the war, and rebuild the country after the war, so our Communists are now against revolution and are for American business expansion."

The "Harvard Crimson", a publication of Harvard University, issue of November 26, 1947, reported a meeting of the Harvard Law School Forum held on November 25, 1947, at Rindge Technical High School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the general topic, "How Safe are American Civil Rights?" This article had the subheading, "Baldwin Fears Trend Against Civil Liberties", and stated in part as follows:

"Roger N. Baldwin, '04, Director of the ACLU, cast a dubious eye towards the query 'How Safe are American Civil Rights?' at the Fourth Law School Forum last night." Baldwin charged that in the past year or two 'had enough' forces have buttressed conservative elements, and made it increasingly difficult to fight for human liberties. He decried the Taft-Hartley law, the method of administering loyalty checks, and activities of the Un-American Activities Committee, as the most depressing aspects of this trend."

A second source advised on November 6, 1959 that recently Arnold Johnson was in contact with Joseph Brandt who told Johnson that he was trying to find a method of getting to Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union who was leading a delegation to Spain in connection with the arrest of some outstanding Spanish individual. Brandt further stated that the "vets", referring to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, would like to get to Baldwin before he departs for Spain. (C)

(U)

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Roger Nash Baldwin

(U) Johnson stated that Baldwin was easy to reach and that Brandt could call Baldwin and state that he, Johnson, suggested the call. Johnson stated that it "sometimes" helps to mention his name. Brandt stated "sometimes" was not good enough; that "we" want to be sure that "we" have a proposition for him. Brandt stated that "we" want him, Baldwin, to visit some of "our prisoners" and that "we" want to organize a mass meeting for him when he returns so that he can report. (S)

(U) Johnson stated that he was sure Baldwin would respond to Brandt's call because, he, Johnson, and Baldwin have sort of a running agreement. (S)

(U) Johnson stated that he always sees Baldwin at his home, 282 West 11th Street, New York City. (S)

(U) Brandt stated he would call Baldwin and say "we are from the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. We read that you are going to Spain and want to talk to you about something important." (S)

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(U) The first source advised on February 12, 1963, Joseph Brandt was brought into the National Office of the CP, USA, in 1963 as an Administrative Assistant to the National Organizational Secretary, CP, USA. (S)

"The Worker", February 28, 1963, edition, contains an announcement on page 11, columns 4 and 5, that referred to Arnold Johnson as Public Relations Director, CP.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

(U) A third source advised on January 27, 1960, that recently Irving Potash had advised Elizabeth Gurley Flynn that he had an appointment soon with Roger Baldwin regarding the case of Henry Winston. Potash stated that he has always been able to get along with Baldwin and recalled how Baldwin had sent a strong letter to the judge, when he, Potash, was in court in 1957. (C)

A fourth source advised on May 7, 1962, that Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was then Chairman of the CP, USA.

This fourth source advised on July 12, 1963, that Irving Potash was then Labor Secretary of the CP, USA.

(U) The first source advised on August 12 and 13, 1961, that at a CP, USA, National Committee meeting held on those dates, Henry Winston was elected to the CP, USA, National Committee, the National Executive Committee, and was also elected Vice Chairman, CP, USA. (C)

(U) A fifth source advised on January 27, 1960, that Irving Potash recently stated that he had an appointment with Roger Baldwin at the United Nations set up for the afternoon of January 27, 1960. Potash stated that he desired to interest Baldwin on the question of a parole for Henry Winston on the basis of discrimination against Communists by the Parole Board. Potash stated that he intended to request that Baldwin involve the American Civil Liberties Union on the question of a parole for Winston and other Communists. (C)

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Roger Nash Baldwin

(U) A sixth source advised on March 9, 1960, that recently Irving Potash mentioned that he had been to see Roger Baldwin at his, Baldwin's home, and that Baldwin had verbally attacked him in front of his, Baldwin's, wife and daughter. (C)

(U) A seventh source advised on March 10, 1960, that recently Irving Potash mentioned that he had gone to the home of Roger Baldwin on the previous Saturday regarding the Henry Winston case and that Baldwin had confronted him with the question of moral right. Potash stated that Baldwin stated that "we", referring to CP Leaders, have no right to put forward the moral question on the Winston case, because "we" condone such things in other countries. (C)

On page 12, column 1, of the November 6, 1960, edition of "The Worker" there appeared an article which reported that Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man was a sponsor of a Washington, D.C., weekend conference to be held during 1960 in order to secure Presidential clemency for Morton Sobell. This weekend conference, according to this article, was to be sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

Concerning the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, a characterization is contained in the appendix hereto.

On page 10, column 3, of the November 28, 1960, issue of the "National Guardian" there appears an article which reports that a "Freedom Weekend Conference" was to be held in Washington, D.C., November 19 through 21, 1960, sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. Among those listed as sponsors of the "Freedom Weekend Conference" was Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union.

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Concerning the "National Guardian",
a characterization appears in the
appendix hereto.

An eighth source advised on January 6, 1961, that a greeting card postmarked Oakland, New Jersey, December 27, 1960, bearing the return address Roger N. Baldwin, 282 West 11th Street, New York 14, New York, had been sent to Morton Sobell then incarcerated in the United States Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia.

On page 1, columns 3 and 4, continued on page 2, columns 3, 4 and 5, of the February 6, 1961, issue of the "Morning Freiheit" there appeared an article entitled "Impressive Funeral For Eugene Dennis; Speakers Point Out His Record In The Struggle For the People". This article stated in part that on the previous day, funeral services for Communist leader Eugene Dennis were held at the "Riviera", Broadway and 53rd Street, New York City. Moving eulogies about the deceased National Chairman of the CP, USA, were delivered and telegrams of condolences from a number of prominent individuals were read. Among the telegrams which were read was one from Roger Baldwin who was described as a leader in the fight for Civil Rights.

Concerning the "Morning Freiheit",
a characterization appears in the
appendix hereto.

On page 2, column 2, of the February 12, 1961, edition of "The Worker", there appeared an open letter from Roger Baldwin to Mrs. Eugene Dennis. This letter stated in part: "Dear Mrs. Dennis, You have my sympathy in the passing of a man whose integrity of purpose and independence of thinking distinguished him even among those who, like myself, did not share his political philosophy....."

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Roger Nash Baldwin

A ninth source advised on February 14, 1963, [redacted]

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The above information is not to be made public except in the usual proceeding following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

The individual to be subpoenaed is [redacted]

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b7C
b7D

Concerning the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust Fund, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Roger Baldwin advised Special Agents John J. Danahy and Francis J. Gallant, on February 21, 1949, that he was well aware that he was associated with numerous organizations which were subsequently declared to be subversive by the Attorney General of the United States. Baldwin stated that he was well aware of the Communist infiltration of these groups and in many instances was able to recognize the Communists who were endeavoring to seize control of these organizations.

However, he stated that the major portion, if not all of these organizations, were originally founded by sincere individuals without Communist leanings, who were endeavoring to accomplish worthwhile objectives

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Roger Nash Baldwin

which would provide a better Democracy and a better life for the citizens of the United States. Subsequently, because these organizations appealed to masses of the underprivileged, the Communists would endeavor to seize and control positions of power in these organizations.

Baldwin stated that in many instances, he remained in such organizations even after he realized that they had been taken over by the Communists because he still believed in the Fundamental tenets and ideals of the organization and became active in them to combat the Communist domination and influence.

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) on the name Roger N. Baldwin, on May 12, 1958, by Special Employee [redacted] reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source:

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A letter dated April 11, 1928, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the National Committee of the All American Anti-Imperialist League.

Concerning the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

A letterhead dated April 27, 1938, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

A letterhead dated January, 1940, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

A letterhead for the 4th Annual Conference, Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D.C., March 2, 3, 1940, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of this Conference held by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

"The Struggle Against War," June, 1933, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War.

Concerning the American Committee for Struggle Against War, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

A leaflet, "Call to Action," of the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, January 6, 7, 8, 1939, Washington, D.C., listed one Roger Baldwin as an endorser.

Concerning the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker," for November 4, 1957, page 3, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was to speak, among others, at a reception December 6, which was to precede a conference of the American Forum for Socialist Education on December 7, at the Great Northern Hotel, New York City.

Concerning the American Forum for Socialist Education, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

A letterhead dated November 18, 1936, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Executive Committee of the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Concerning the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker" for February 16, 1938, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a signer of a letter to the President, issued by the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

A letterhead dated March 13, 1939, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

A letterhead, dated February 21, 1938, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

A letterhead dated September 8, 1930, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Board of Directors of the American Fund for Public Service.

The "Daily Worker" for February 27, 1937, page 2, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a speaker at the Legislative Conference of the American League Against War and Fascism.

The American League Against War and Fascism has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

"Fight", for November, 1933, page 10, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a contributor to "Fight", issued by the American League Against War and Fascism.

Concerning "Fight", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"Fight", for September, 1937, page 18, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a contributor to this publication put out by the American League Against War and Fascism.

"New Masses", for October 5, 1937, page 30, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a participant in a Mass Meeting, "China Today: U.S. Tomorrow?", held October 1, 1937, by the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People.

Concerning "New Masses", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Concerning the American Friends of the Chinese People, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker," for May 12, 1938, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a speaker (at?) United Anti-Nazi Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The "Daily Worker" for May 14, 1938, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a speaker in Newark, (at a meeting of?) United Anti-Nazi Council.

A pamphlet, "7½ Million...", page 13, reflected one Roger Baldwin as Secretary of the Civil Rights Commission of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Page 34 of this pamphlet reflected one Roger Baldwin as a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

The "Student Almanac" for 1939, page 32, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a speaker at the 4th National Convention of the American Student Union.

Concerning the American Student Union, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The pamphlet, "Presenting the American Student Union," reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

"Youngville, U.S.A.", page 62, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the National Advisory Committee of the American Youth Congress.

The American Youth Congress has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

An undated leaflet published by the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder reflected Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, appealed to President Roosevelt for justice in the Browder case.

The Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Roger Baldwin, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, was a speaker at the Michigan Conference for Civil Rights of the Civil Rights Federation, February 10, 1940, Detroit, Michigan.

Concerning the Civil Rights Federation, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Commonwealth College "Fortnightly", for August 15, 1937, page 3, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin endorsed a Reorganization Plan for Commonwealth College.

Commonwealth College has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"The People vs. H.C.L.", page 2, December 11-12, 1937, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of the Consumers' National Federation.

Concerning the Consumers' National Federation, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker", for September 29, 1937, reflected on page 2 one Roger Baldwin was a speaker, (at a meeting of?) the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, New York City.

Concerning the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

An undated letterhead reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of Frontier Films.

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Concerning Frontier Films, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Program of the Conference, February 12, 1940, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a speaker at the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.

Concerning the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

A letterhead of the International Labor Defense, December, 1931, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Prisoners Relief Fund.

"Voice of Labor", for October 20, 1922, page 12, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Defense Council.

A characterization of "Voice Of Labor" appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker", for June 9, 1942, page 3, reflected Roger N. Baldwin, Director of American Civil Liberties Union, was the first member to resign from the International Labor Defense; because of Government's prosecution of Minneapolis Trotskyite, whom he and the ACLU were defending.

"Labor Defender," for November, 1928, page 223, reflected one Roger Baldwin as the author of "Liberty Under the Soviets".

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning "Labor Defender", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Program of the "Third Biennial National Conference of the International Labor Defense," reflected Roger N. Baldwin, of the American Liberties Union, sent greetings.

"Labor Defender", for July, 1931, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Prisoner's Relief Fund of the International Labor Defense.

"Fraternal Outlook", June-July, 1940, page 15, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a speaker at Stop Dies Rally of the International Workers Order, at Newark, New Jersey.

Concerning "Fraternal Outlook", a characterization appears in the appendix attached hereto.

The International Workers Order (IWO) has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"Korean Independence", for August 6, 1947, page 1, and "Nation," for August 2, 1947, reprinted an article by one Roger N. Baldwin, entitled "U.S. Blunder in Korea."

Concerning "Korean Independence," a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"The Liberator", for December, 1918, page 11, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin as a contributor.

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Concerning the "Liberator", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

One Roger Baldwin was mentioned in the "Liberator" for June, 1923, page 16.

Pamphlet, "One Year in Spain," page 14, reflected Roger Baldwin, of the Civil Liberties Union, was a supporter of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Concerning the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

An undated letterhead (75th birthday) reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor Celebration Committee.

Concerning Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, in appendix 9, page 1162, of a report entitled "Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activity in the U.S.", by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 78th Congress, referred to as the Dies Report, Ella Reeve was described as being one of the most notorious leaders of the CP in the United States for many years.

A Program for January 24, 1936, pages 7 and 9, reflected one Roger Baldwin sent greetings and was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor Banquet.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

The "Daily Worker" for June 14, 1937, page 8, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor's Birthday Celebration.

A letterhead dated July 3, 1934, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a supporter of the National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism.

Concerning the National Committee To Aid Victims of German Fascism, A characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

A leaflet, "Call to a National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance," page 3, January 5-7, 1935, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance.

Concerning the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"Unemployment Insurance Review," Volume 1, 1935, page 3, reflected one Roger Baldwin, Director of American Civil Liberties Union, was a signer of Call (to?) the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance.

The "Daily Worker", for May 15, 1951, page 3, reflected Roger N. Baldwin, Ex-Director of American Civil Liberties Union, as a signer of National Council Against Conscription report denouncing efforts to spread the doctrine of inevitability of war.

Concerning the National Council Against Conscription, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

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A letterhead dated March 16, 1937, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the National People's Committee Against Hearst.

Concerning the National People's Committee Against Hearst, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"New Masses", for November 16, 1937, page 20, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin as a contributor.

"New Masses" for May 13, 1941, page 22, reflected one Roger Baldwin sent a letter to "New Masses."

An undated letterhead reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of the New York Tom Mooney Committee.

Concerning the New York Tom Mooney Committee, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker" for February 27, 1937, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of Tag Day in New York City, held by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"New Masses" for September 28, 1937, page 28, reflected one Roger Baldwin as a sponsor of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

"ADA World" for May 26, 1949, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin protested against the Attorney General's ruling on the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy as subversive.

A letterhead, dated November 3, 1937, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the National Executive Committee of the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace and a member of the National Bureau of the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace.

Concerning the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

A letterhead dated March 20, 1936, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of Russian Reconstruction Farms, Incorporated.

Concerning Russian Reconstruction Farms, Incorporated, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"Soviet Russia Today," for September, 1934, page 11, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin as a contributor.

Concerning "Soviet Russia Today", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"The Struggle Against War," for August, 1933, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the Arrangements Committee for the United States Congress Against War.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning the United States Congress
Against War, a characterization appears
in the appendix hereto.

"Call to the U.S. Congress Against War",
September 1-4, 1933, New York City, page 3, reflected
Roger Baldwin, Executive Director of the American
Civil Liberties Union, was a member of the Arrangements
Committee of this Congress.

The "Daily Worker", for January 2, 1936, page
2, reflected one Roger Baldwin headed commission, 3rd
United States Congress Against War and Fascism.

The "Daily Worker", for May 18, 1956, page 6,
contained an article which stated one Roger N. Baldwin
wrote a "friendly review" of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's
autobiography, "I Speak My Own Piece," in "The Nation."
The article quoted at length from the review.

The "Daily Worker", for February 24, 1937,
page 3, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a speaker
at a Mass Meeting for Spain held in Brooklyn (Meeting
supported by the CP.)

The "Daily Worker" for November 27, 1947,
page 2, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin attacked the
purge of Communists in the film industry.

The "Congressional Record", for March 8, 1948,
page 2433, reflected one Roger Baldwin opposed deportation
of Communists.

The "Daily Worker", for March 23, 1948, pages
2 and 6, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin appealed in
behalf of A.B. Magil, Communist writer.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

"The New York Times" for October 20, 1949, page 25, reflected Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, New York, was a signer of an anti-Communist statement.

"The Worker", for October 30, 1949, pages 3 and 6, southern edition, reflected one Roger Baldwin of New York was a signer of statement on Communist cases.

The "Daily People's World", for June 22, 1951, page 1, reflected Roger Baldwin, former Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, sponsored a half-page advertisement in the "San Francisco Chronicle", a San Francisco daily newspaper, taking issue with the Supreme Court decision upholding conviction of 11 Communists.

The "Daily People's World" was a West Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on February 1, 1957.

Investigation of Communist Propaganda. Hearings before a Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States; 71st Congress, 2nd Session.

Part 1, Volume 2: (June 18, 19, 1930)

Page 5: Roger N. Baldwin listed as a Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Page 24: Exhibit 7: -- The Workers Library -- Books for Workers. Listed is "Liberty Under the Soviets" by Roger Baldwin, price 50 cents.

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Concerning The Workers Library,
Publishers Incorporated, a
characterization appears in the
appendix hereto.

Communist Political Subversion -- Part I.

Hearings before the HCUA, 84th Congress,
2nd Session.

Testimony of Irving Novick, November 13, 1956

Page 6247

Novick testified that one Roger Baldwin
joined with him in the formulation of the American
Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born.

Part I, Volume 4:

Testimony of Francis Ralston Welsh

Page 141

Welsh Exhibit Number 3: Membership of officers
and national committee (of the American Civil Liberties
Union) in radical organizations. Roger Nash Baldwin
is listed under All America Anti- Imperialist League
(Communist)....

Page 143

Welsh Exhibit Number 4: Roger Nash Baldwin
Chief leader of the American Liberties Union is quoted
as having said in August, 1924: "The right to advocate
a violent revolution, assassination, and proletarian red
guard, are all clearly within the scope of free speech
and have been so regarded here and in England for decades."

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Page 145

Welsh Exhibit Number 7 -- re International Labor Defense Meeting, Chicago, March 5, 1930: Roger Nash Baldwin pledged the aid of the ACLU, which he stated he represented at the meeting. According to this exhibit, "he said all differences between the ACLU and the ILD were friendly ones. He greeted the ILD as a revolutionary working-class element. He said, 'The ACLU will attend to getting the money out of the middle class to help the working class.' By working class he meant Communists. He said, 'The real struggle here in the United States today, as throughout the world, is between the militant section of the working class with political aims on one side and the capitalist class on the other. Now we (meaning the American Civil Liberties Union) cooperated with the ILD at many points. Spoke of aid given ILD in Gastonia matters and mendaciously said that the political and religious views of the defendants were involved in that case. The case was one of murder and the defendants were convicted and the conviction affirmed on appeal and the defendants skipped their bail. Spoke of the right of the working class to 'conduct the kind of education which the Communist Party conducts' and, evidently referring to himself and friends, stated that some believed 'that even revolutionary agitation is within the free speech.'.... He encouraged the Communists in their intention to carry out an illegal parade in the loop district of Chicago the next day. His address was apparently meant to intimidate the police and encourage the Communists..... He praised the Communist lawlessness and said, 'The violence, my friends, is all violence against you. It is the violence of the police. It is the violence of lawless officials.' He incited contempt of court and told Communists they would find the American Civil Liberties Union back of them in their struggle. He classed the police with thugs."

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 151

Roger Nash Baldwin mentioned as.... a supporter of the I.W.W. war obstructors, et cetera.

Page 154

"Roger Nash Baldwin, for years the most prominent representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, stated that the whole of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union believed in the right to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, and stated that the advocacy of murder was within the limits of free speech."

Page 220

Roger Baldwin listed as an official of the American Fund for Public Service.

Page 221

Roger Baldwin, Director of the Fund quoted as follows (from a pamphlet, "Twenty Years of Social Pioneering," issued by the League for Industrial Democracy, which organization has received thousands of dollars from the Fund): "To many of us interlocking Directors, and to many of us interlocking contributors, it is pretty difficult to tell from whom to bring the greetings and to whom to give the greetings. It is sometimes difficult for me to tell whether I am in a meeting of the L.I.D. (meaning League for Industrial Democracy) or a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union."

Concerning the League for Industrial Democracy, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 279

The Vanguard series, issued by the Vanguard Press, which was organized and financed by the American Fund for Public Service, Incorporated, included "Liberty Under the Soviets," by Roger N. Baldwin, ("America's fighter for liberty tells how free Russia is.")

Concerning the Vanguard Press, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 297

Rober Baldwin listed as a speaker at the Civic Club, a beneficiary of the American Fund for Public Service, Incorporated.

Page 405 to 417

Testimony of Roger N. Baldwin, December 5, 1930

He refused to be sworn because he did not believe in a God that punished him for not telling the truth, and stated there was no other purpose in an oath. He affirmed that he would give to the Committee the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. He stated he represented the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), that he had held the position of Director of this organization for ten years.

He stated he was not a Communist. He was asked if he were sympathetic with the Communist aims and principles. He replied he was testifying as the representative of the ACLU and did not want to go into his personal views about Communism, politics, religion, or anything else. He was again asked

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if he were sympathetic with the aims and principles of the CP. He declined to answer. He was asked if he were a member of the I.W.W. He stated he was a member four short months. He stated, "I declined to accept the invitation of your chairman to appear voluntarily as a witness, because the American Civil Liberties Union is opposed to your committee and its work." "Far more important in our view of the country's best interests is the maintenance of the right of agitation by Communists and all others who have a grievance. The country is not menaced by Communist propaganda."

"Your committee's work is based on the proposition that revolutionary propaganda produces revolution. All history refutes that notion. Revolutions are produced by unbearable conditions, not talk. If the proposals made to your committee to outlaw the Communist movement in the United States, to deport all alien Communists, and to establish a Federal Secret Service to ferret out subversive activities were all put into effect, they could not possibly stop protests against intolerable conditions of living and labor. The best they could do from the point of view of those who seek to outlaw radicalism would be to drive the movement into underground channels, with the inevitable tendency to secret conspiracies and to violence. That condition would be far worse even from a conservative standpoint than the tolerance of radical propaganda."

He then attacked the methods of operation of the committee and its causing scores of unjustified arrests and prosecutions and stated, "Concerning the work of the Civil Liberties Union itself, we state to you that we have no connection whatever with Communist organizations, except to defend their rights of freedom of speech, press, and assemblage on precisely the same basis as we

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Roger Nash Baldwin

defend the rights of others. That we have had more occasion to defend Communists than others is due solely to the fact that they are the chief victims of attack. Several Communists have served upon our national or executive committees just as do many Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists. We accept in our membership anybody who believes in the right of free speech, regardless of his political views. We have on occasion defended the rights of reactionaries to free speech, notably in cases affecting the Ku-Klux Klan and the American Fascists in the South, just as we have defended the rights of radicals.

Baldwin was then asked and affirmed that his organization upheld the right of an alien or American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government, in so far as mere advocacy was concerned. He was asked and affirmed that his organization had no limit on the extent to which a man might go in expressing his ideas or opinions about the Government.

He stated they would not defend a man who had committed an overt act....

Baldwin testified that he spoke at what was called the "blacklist dinner" in Chicago. He also testified at some length re the Garland Fund -- the original amount was \$950,000, and it skyrocketed to about \$2,000,000. He stated they had about \$500,000 left. He stated they had financed, among other things, the "Daily Worker" Building in Chicago.

The Ku-Klux Klan has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Part 3, Volume 2:

Page 197

Roger Baldwin, Director of the ACLU, mentioned as having been a speaker at a meeting in Chicago,.... Baldwin spoke in defense of _____ Foster, and pledged

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Roger Nash Baldwin

his support, making this statement, "When somebody starts out with a gun, we don't defend them there, but when somebody talks about starting out with a gun, we are right with them there."

Page 509

A letter from one Roger Baldwin to William Z. Foster, June 30, 1922, re Costello's relation to the Federated Press, asking Foster to straighten things out.

Concerning the Federated Press,
a characterization appears in the
appendix hereto.

Page 548

Roger Baldwin, National Chairman of the ACLU, praised Soviet Russia Pictorial, saying, "You are twice as effective in your new appeal. You ought to get a quickened understanding and an increased volume of aid. If anything can make the facts cry aloud, these pictures will. And a picture-minded public must hear them."

Concerning Soviet Pictorial, a
characterization appears in the
appendix hereto.

Page 566

Roger Baldwin, managing Director of the ACLU, served a term as a draft evader in the Essex County Jail in New Jersey in 1918 and 1919; "one of the most active revolutionary radicals in the country."

~~SECRET~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 567

"When Baldwin was sentenced in 1918 by the Federal Court at New York for the violation of the conscription act, he made a speech to the court, as follows: 'Though at the moment I am of a tiny minority, I feel myself just one protest in a great revolt surging up from among the people -- the struggle of the masses against the rule of the world by the few -- profoundly intensified by the war. It is a struggle against the political state itself, against exploitations, militarism, imperialism, authority in all forms. It is a struggle to break in full force only after the war. Russia already stands in the vanguard, beset by her enemies in the camps of both belligerents

Page 567

Roger N. Baldwin, New York City, listed as a member of the National Committee of the Labor Defense Council.

Page 574

An application by the Workers Education Bureau for an endowment from the American Fund for Public Service brought this reply from Roger Baldwin, trustee of the Fund:

"The American Fund for Public Service, (Incorporated), in its support of labor education, shall favor those organizations and institutions which instill into the workers the knowledge and the qualities which will fit them for carrying on the struggle for the emancipation of their class in every sphere.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

As it seems to us pretty clear that the work of the Workers' Education Bureau does not come within this definition, we come to the conclusion that we could not make the appropriation you request. We do not see our way clear to financing any enterprises except those definitely committed to a radical program of the character indicated in that resolution."

Part 4, Volume 2:

Page 540

Address by Mr. Roger Baldwin at a meeting of the International Labor Defense, Chicago, March 5, 1930, at Ashland Auditorium.

Appendix IX:

Page 416F

Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the National Bureau of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Page 537

Roger N. Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, listed as a member of the National Advisory Board of the 4th American Youth Congress, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, July 4, 1937.

Page 589

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Advisory Council of Book Union, Incorporated.

Concerning the Book Union, Incorporated, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 758F

National Committee Friends of the Soviet Union endorsed by one Roger Baldwin; one Roger N. Baldwin on the Reception Committee for the Soviet Flyers of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Friends of the Soviet Union has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Page 949

One Roger Baldwin signer of a cablegram sent to the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies on behalf of one Arthur Ewert, (sent under auspices of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Brazilian People.)

Concerning the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Brazilian People, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 1037

Letter from League of Young Southerners to one Roger Baldwin, ACLU, New York City, asking for the publications and news releases of the ACLU for use and assistance in their work.

Concerning the League of Young Southerners a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 1313

Call for Support to National Student League, (in the "Daily Worker," September 28, 1932, page 2) was signed by one Roger Baldwin.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning the National Student League, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 1452

Under the heading, Party and Party Line Publications; is listed the publication Liberator and shows one Roger Baldwin as a contributing editor.

Statement of H.L. Chaillaux, Director, National Americanism Commission, American Legion

Page 436

Chaillaux stated he did not know that one Robert Nash Baldwin was a Communist, but he read one of Baldwin's own statements, written into the Harvard College Class Book of the Class of 1905, published in 1935, as follows:

"My chief aversion is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I see social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control of those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal."

Page 440

One Roger Baldwin mentioned as being a speaker at the convention of the Third United States Congress Against War and Fascism.

Page 441

One Roger Baldwin mentioned as being a member of the executive board of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

Testimony of Walter S. Steele, August 17, 1938:

Page 462

One Roger Baldwin selected to head the nominations committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Page 475

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

Page 502

Roger Baldwin of the ACLU listed as a speaker at a Scottsboro Mass Project, staged by the New York District of the International Labor Defense in 1932.

Page 518

One Roger N. Baldwin listed as being affiliated with the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Page 521

Roger N. Baldwin named as the moving spirit of the Civil Liberties Bureau during World War I and in August, 1917, wrote to Louis Lockner, then actively engaged in radical circles..... warning him to "steer clear from making it look like a Socialist enterprise. Too many people have already gotten the idea that it is nine-tenths a Socialist movement.... We want also to look like patriots in everything we do. We want to get a good lot of flags, talk a good deal about the Constitution, and what our forefathers wanted to make of this country...."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 533

A review of Liberty Under the Soviets by Roger N. Baldwin, in which book he admitted that he recognized "fully the dangers in the extreme measures of control in effect in Russia today." He deplored "them for their unnecessary cruelties" but admitted his "personal prejudices in favor of the economic achievements and purposes of the Russian revolution." In the book he said, "I have aided enterprises organized in the United States to help Soviet industry and agriculture, and to gain recognition for Russia... First-hand contact has strengthened my hopes for the effects of economic liberty and diminished my fears for the effects of political repression." Yet when he was in Russia, he admitted that "hundreds of persons were being arrested. The political prisons were crowded. The Government was nervous... Georgia... obviously was being held in the Union (of Soviet Republics) against the desire of its people for independence."

He stated, "In the Communist philosophy from the days of Karl Marx to the present, there is no room for the ideas of freedom of speech, press, assemblage, or liberty of individual conscience." It was then pointed out that it was interesting to note in this connection (that there was no liberty worthy of mention in Russia) that the ACLU, of which Baldwin was an official, was constantly defending the so-called "rights" of Communists in the United States under the American Constitution to advocate the overthrow of the American Government and the establishment of a Communist system.

Page 534

An editorial in the "New York Evening American", a New York daily newspaper, attributed the following statement to one Roger Baldwin:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

"I am for Socialism, disarmament, and ultimately, for abolishing the state itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the properties class and sole control of those who produce wealth." "An article in the 'New York Times', April 8, 1937, indicated that Baldwin possibly made an acknowledgement of his real purpose and that of the American Civil Liberties Union in behalf of so-called 'civil liberties' in the United States when he said: 'Civil liberties, like democracy, are useful only as tools for change... I am interested to maintain such freedom of agitation as can be won not primarily as a political principle, but as a means of resolving economic conflict with a minimum of violence.'"

In a statement which appeared in the American Labor Year Book, one Roger Baldwin was extremely critical of the immigration, passport, and naturalization regulations of the United States Government. He said, in part: "Admission is denied not only to anarchists (since 1901) but to any person who believes in the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States... or who disbelieve in organized government."

Page 568

One Roger N. Baldwin listed as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Page 574

One Roger N. Baldwin listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 582

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

Page 689

One Roger N. Baldwin listed as a speaker for the League for Industrial Democracy.

Testimony of Harry Mikuliak, October 20, 1938

Page 1592

One Roger Baldwin spoke at the 3rd Session of the Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland, Ohio, January 5, 1936, regarding leaflets, pamphlets, and literature -- that the lack of funds for "this ammunition prevents us from educating the masses in our fight for peace." "...To work to stop shipments of ammunition, to expose every move toward war and fascism, to resist all military training in schools."

Testimony of Herman Luhrs, (Joint Americanism Committee of the American Legion at Flint, Michigan), October 21, 1938

Page 1655

One Roger Baldwin attended meeting held under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy, in Flint, Michigan.

Testimony of J.B. Matthews, November 7, 1938

Page 2177

Matthews presented a copy of the first issue of "Fight" magazine, which contained an article by Roger Baldwin (this publication was the official organ for the League for Peace and Democracy).

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 2178

Matthews stated Roger Baldwin wrote in a book entitled, "Socialism of Our Times," and quoted Baldwin as saying on page 77 of this book as follows:

"I would rather see violent revolution than none at all"; and also on page 77, "Trade Unionism alone furnished a class base of revolutionary power for the exploited masses"; on page 80, "You cannot touch militant labor activity anywhere without finding Communist inspiration and participation."

Matthews stated he had been closely associated with Roger Baldwin in organizational work and that they were active in other than the Communist united-front organizations.

Matthews stated that from the above quotations it was clear that Mr. Baldwin was advocating Communism. He read one more quotation:

"Its (Communist Party) main policies center on what are obviously the two greatest issues looking to labor and Socialist control -- the building up of revolutionary consciousness in the trade unions, and support by western labor of the movements for colonial independence." (Page 80 of the book.)

Testimony of Alice Lee Jemison, November 22, 1938

Page 2448

Roger N. Baldwin, Executive Director of the ACLU, graduate of Harvard, class of 1905, had this to say about himself (in the 30-year class book of that

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Roger Nash Baldwin

class) and his activities in the ACLU: "I have continued directing the unpopular fight for the rights of agitation, as Director of the American Civil Liberties Union; I have been to Europe several times, mostly in connection with international radical activities...I am opposed to production for private profit...I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class..."

Testimony of Sam Baron, November 23, 1938,
November 28, 1938

Page 2641

Chairman of the Committee read into the record a statement by Roger Baldwin, Executive Director of the ACLU, which appeared in the November, 1933, issue of "Fight", as follows: "For militant tactics against war in the United States, we of the Anti-War Congress must not count upon conscientious objection based upon individual consciences as any force whatever. We must count only upon organized workers, farmers, and their sympathizers among intellectuals, to refuse service to the war machine, to block a declaration of war by the same tactics after it has been declared, and failing that the moment the opportunity comes to refuse to go on with the war.

Historically examined, such mass refusals have always been the prelude to ousting the war government and ushering in revolutionary change. No adequate power can be built to end war, as all its opponents identify themselves with the struggle of those classes which alone can abolish the system of conflicting greeds on which war thrives."

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 2660

Baron testified that Roger N. Baldwin was not a Communist, nor did he follow the Communist line in any particular.

Testimony of Burton A. Gaskill, Grand Sire,
Sovereign Grand Lodge of the I.O.O.F,
Atlantic City, New Jersey, December 9, 1938

Page 3081

Affidavit of Roger N. Baldwin, for inclusion
in the Record of House Committee on Un-American
Activities:

"Witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities have attempted to connect me with the Communist Party on the basis of a statement published in a Harvard University Class Book of 1935. From a discussion of my economic views, the single statement, "Communism is the goal," is taken to make it appear that I am a Communist. It is obvious from the text of my statement that the word "Communism" was used in its ordinary dictionary sense to designate the common ownership of property, not the political movement of Communism. "The Full text of the statement dealing with my views which were compressed into a single statement from answers to a questionnaire, is as follows:

"My 'chief aversion' is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I am opposed to the New Deal because it

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Roger Nash Baldwin

strives to strengthen and prolong production for private profit. At bottom I am for conserving the full powers of every person on earth by expanding them to their individual limits. Therefore, I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control by those who produce wealth.

"Communist is the goal. It all sums up into one single purpose -- the abolition of the system of dog-eat-dog under which we live, and the substitution of the most effective nonviolence possible of a system of cooperative ownership and use of all wealth."

"For the sake of the record, I may state that I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party. I could not be a member of that Party under any circumstances, as I am opposed to many of its principles and tactics. I have been criticized publicly over a long course of years for my views by official Communist spokesmen and in Communist publications, although I have worked with Communists, as with Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists, in practical movements for specific reforms.

"...The summary of the testimony published by the committee was so condensed as to make it appear that I support and sympathize with the advocates of violence. The position I took, as indicated by the official record was quite contrary. The American Civil Liberties Union for which I was testifying holds that any utterance not associated with an overt act or an attempted act is within the limits of free speech. That has been sound American doctrine since

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Roger Nash Baldwin

the origin of our Constitution. Personally, I am and have been for years a pacifist, wholly disbelieving in any philosophy program or movement committed to the use of violence in any form..."

Testimony of Fred Erwin Beal, former Communist Organizer in Laurence, New Bedford, and Gastonia, October 18, 1939.

Page 6035; 6036; 6037

Beal testified that he wrote one Robert Baldwin, of the ACLU re getting back to America, that Baldwin urged him to come back to the United States of America from Russia, that Baldwin sent some money to the White Star Line in Warsaw so Beal might return. Beal stated he was asked by members of the CP at the Comintern if he didn't know that Roger Baldwin was working for the Department of Justice.

Beal then went on to state that Roger Baldwin had put into the newspapers, "New York Times" especially, the story that Beal insisted upon coming back.

Beal stated he did not think Roger Baldwin was a Communist. He considered Baldwin to be a good friend of his.

Page 6040; 6041

Beal testified that the Comintern wanted him to sign a document denouncing one Roger Baldwin.

Page 6126; 6127

Beal stated that upon his arrival in New York, he got in touch with Roger Baldwin, Director of the ACLU, as Beal had been very much in favor of going to

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Roger Nash Baldwin

prison and not leaving the country at all. He found in Roger Baldwin a friend who agreed with him, and, Beal stressed, Roger Baldwin, did not harbor him (Beal was a fugitive -- having jumped bail while Gastonia Case was on appeal) as a fugitive but as a friend who agreed with Beal that Beal should go to prison and carry out his ideals of that period of time. Baldwin took Beal to his camp in New Jersey with the idea in mind that Beal was going to return to North Carolina and begin his sentence.

Beal stated notice was sent to him through Roger Baldwin that representatives of the CP wanted to see him, and that Baldwin took him to his home where Beal met Clarina Michaelson who was sent by the CP to try to urge Beal to return to Soviet Russia.

Page 6135

Beal testified re his second trip to Russia, made at the urging of the CP rather than serve sentence. He stated the wanted to return to the United States for the second time, and cabled Roger Baldwin for aid. This time Baldwin cabled him to "go back east." Beal managed to return to the United States where he found Roger Baldwin not so friendly. Beal stated that since he was evidently not going to stay over there, Roger Baldwin thought he had better not help Beal out so much the second time.

Testimony of Harry Freeman Ward,
October 23, 1949

Page 6233

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 6236

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Arrangements Committee for the United States Congress Against War.

Page 6278

One Roger Baldwin, of New York, listed as a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Testimony of Francis Adams Henson, Consultant on Public Relations, October 24, 1939

Page 6355

Henson stated that he helped to organize the Medical Bureau in Aid of Spanish Democracy, along with one Roger Baldwin and others, in 1936.

Page 6371

Henson stated he was asked by one Roger Baldwin to help the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Refugees.

Appendix 10 (from page 6240)

Page II

Re proceedings of the 2nd U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism, Chicago, Illinois, September 28, 29, 30, 1934. One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Arrangements and National Committees.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page XVI

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of Organization and Finance Committee at above Congress.

Page XX

One Roger Baldwin reported on the financial condition of the Congress.

Page XXIII

One Roger Baldwin reported for the Organization and Finance Committee.

Page XXV

One Roger Baldwin called on the delegates for a collection.

Page XXVI

One Roger Baldwin gave report of the Presiding and Organization Committee, recommending the National Executive Committee for the coming year.

Page XXVII

One Roger Baldwin listed as a present member of the National Executive Committee.

Testimony of Joseph Tooru Kanazawa, July 2, 1943

Page 9469

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the Japanese-American Committee for Democracy.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning the Japanese - American
Committee for Democracy, a characterization
appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 9490; 9491

Kanazawa stated that he knew one Roger
Baldwin, and that Baldwin resigned from the Japanese-
American Committee for Democracy because he came to the
conclusion that this Committee was controlled by
Communists.

House Report Number 2, 76th Congress, 1st Session,
January 3, 1939

Page 45

One Roger Baldwin is mentioned as being the
author of an article which appeared in "Fight" magazine.

Testimony of Lucien Koch, member of the Ship Building
Commission, National War Labor Board, March 29, 1943

Page 3026; 3027

Koch stated he though one Roger Baldwin was
a member of the Advisory Board of Commonwealth College.

Testimony of William Pickens, Principal Defense
Securities Specialist, Treasury Department,
April 2, 1943.

Page 3311

Pickens mentioned that one Roger Baldwin
attended a dinner of the All America Anti-Imperialist
League at which Pickens spoke.

Page 3317

Pickens stated he knew -- Baldwin was not
a Communist.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Testimony of Robert Morss Lovett, Government
Secretary, Virgin Islands, Department of the
Interior, April 16, 1943

Page 3502

Lovett stated one Roger Baldwin was the
prime mover in the matter of the Garland Fund or
American Fund for Public Service.

Investigation of Communist Activities in the
New York City Area -- Part 7

(Based on testimony of Manning Johnson)

Page 2173

(Manning Johnson Exhibit 11 -- "Fight",
December, 1935, page 2). One Roger Baldwin listed
as a member of the National Executive Committee,
American League Against War and Fascism.

Page 2192

One Roger Baldwin listed as a speaker
at Barbusse Memorial Service at the Third U.S. Congress
Against War and Fascism, held at Cleveland, Ohio (from
Manning Johnson Exhibit 13 -- "Fight", February, 1936,
pages 8 and 9.)

Page 2193

At the Congress mentioned in page 2192 above,
one Roger Baldwin presented the 10 point program considered
by the war and fascism commission.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Testimony of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, 83rd
Congress, 1st Session, July 21, 1953:

Page 3632

Bishop Oxnam stated he resigned from his post as editorial advisor of the Protestant Digest because Roger Baldwin of the ACLU told him that magazine had Communist support. He stated that Roger Baldwin was a man who knew that whole field intimately and that he resigned because of what Baldwin had told him.

Concerning the Protestant Digest,
a characterization appears in the
appendix hereto.

Page 3656

Bishop Oxnam stated he thought Mr. Roger Baldwin led a movement to insist that no Communists be allowed in the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Concerning the Medical Bureau and
North American Committee to Aid
Spanish Democracy, a characterization
appears in the appendix hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on the name Roger N. Baldwin on September 30, 1963, by Investigative Clerk [redacted] for the period May 12, 1958 to September 30, 1963, reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source:

b6
b7C

Roger N. Baldwin wrote the foreward to a pamphlet published by the American Civil Liberties Union, New York, entitled "Violence in Peekskill - A Report of the Violations of Civil Liberties at Two Paul Robeson Concerts Near Peekskill, New York, 1949".

Concerning Paul Robeson the following is set forth:

The "New York Post and Home News", a New York newspaper, issue of July 14, 1949, contained an article entitled "Robeson Wants To Be A Stalin, Party Backs Him, House Told". This article stated that an admitted former member of the Communist Party National Committee described Paul Robeson as "a member of the CP for many years". The article continued that Manning Johnson, testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee stated "Paul Robeson has delusions of grandeur. He is desirous of becoming the black Stalin and the Communist Party is encouraging that." The article stated that Johnson told the Committee that he had been a CP member up to 1940 and during his years of Communist membership, had frequently met Robeson in Party Headquarters, "going to or coming from" meetings with top Communist leaders. Johnson stated that Robeson's Party membership was kept secret from even rank and file Communists.

On the reverse side of a Sobell Committee Handbill; "June 19, 1953 The Moment That Shook The World", the name of Roger Baldwin was listed as "among those who have urged Sobell's release on many grounds."

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Roger Nash Baldwin

Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League for Rights of Man, was among those who participated in a Sobell discussion meeting held in New York City on May 24, 1960.

An advertisement appeared in the "New York Times" of June 20, 1960, which stated that Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League for Rights of Man, had sent a message to be presented at a meeting to discuss the case of Morton Sobell. This meeting was scheduled to be held at the Community Church of New York on May 24, 1960.

On page 12 of the November 6, 1960 edition of "The Worker", an article appeared which stated that Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League for Rights of Man, was a sponsor of a Washington, D.C. meeting held from November 19 through 21, 1960, under the auspices of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

In the Program for "Freedom Weekend", November 19 through 21, 1960, there appeared a statement that Roger Baldwin of the International League for Rights of Man was a signer of a statement opposing continued imprisonment of Morton Sobell. This statement was distributed under the auspices of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

Also in this program, the name of Roger N. Baldwin of New York City was listed as one of 48 sponsors who invited "your participation in a National Appeal for Freedom" for Sobell.

On page 9 of the December 3, 1960 edition of the "People's World", there appeared an article which stated in part that Roger Baldwin was one of the sponsors of a conference which was held in Washington, D.C. to formulate plans to try to secure the release of Morton Sobell.

"The People's World" is a West Coast Communist Newspaper.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

On page A-3 of the December 20, 1960 edition of the "Evening Star", a Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, there appeared an advertisement asking President Eisenhower to release Morton Sobell during the traditional Christmas amnesty period. Among the names appearing as signers was one Roger Baldwin.

Pages 22 to 26 of the November, 1958 issue of "Jewish Currents" contained a review of Don Peretz's book "Israel and the Palestine Arabs", published by Middle East Institute, which book contained a foreward by one Roger Baldwin.

Concerning "Jewish Currents", a characterization is contained in the Appendix hereto.

One Roger Baldwin was among 13 individuals who signed an undated public statement "acting as individuals" protesting action by the House Committee on Un-American Activities when it subpoenaed youths who had attended World Youth Festivals.

Concerning World Youth Festivals, a characterization is contained in the Appendix hereto.

One Roger N. Baldwin was the author of an article contained within a pamphlet entitled "Twenty-five Years of Industrial Unionism", published by the Industrial Workers of the World.

Roger Baldwin, former head of the American Civil Liberties Union was quoted by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in a pamphlet, "What About Communism?" as having said: "A superior loyalty to a foreign government disqualifies a citizen for service to ours."

On page five of the February 18, 1961 edition of "The People's World", there appeared an article which stated that Roger Baldwin had sent a message to the funeral services of Eugene Dennis.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

On page 3 of the May 14, 1961 edition of "The Worker", an article appeared which stated that Roger Baldwin, Director Emeritus, American Civil Liberties Union was the signer of a letter protesting "the attempted US invasion of Cuba" and demanding "a ban on any future military intervention."

On page 3 of the April 10, 1962, Midweek Edition of "The Worker", there appeared an article which stated that Roger Baldwin, representing the ACLU was among those present at a news conference announcing that a petition signed by 550 Americans, seeking a pardon for Junius I. Scales had been sent to President Kennedy.

Concerning Junius Irving Scales it is noted that Scales was sentenced to six years imprisonment on April 22, 1955 in United States District Court, Middle District, North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina for violation of the membership provisions of the Smith Act of 1940.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"ALL-AMERICA ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "All America Anti-Imperialist League."

- "1. Cited as a 'Communist-front organization.'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re
Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p.12.)"

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "American Committee For Struggle Against War":

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which was formed in response to directives from a World Congress Against War held in Amsterdam in August 1932 under the auspices of the Communist International. Avowed Communist Donald Henderson was executive director of the American Committee.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 47 and 119.)"

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY"

"1. Cited as a Communist front advocating collective security against the Fascist aggressors prior to the signing of the Stalin Hitler pact. The American League for Peace and Democracy was formed at the above congress,

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p.105.)

"2. Cited as 'among the more conspicuous Communist fronts that have defied brazenly the interests of the United States and other freedom-loving nations whenever they have been in conflict with the interests of Soviet Russia and world Communism.'

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p.67.)"

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION (AFFSE)"

According to an article appearing in the May 13, 1957 issue of the "Daily Worker", page 1, column 2, A.J. Muste, well known pacifist, announced the formation of the AFFSE. According to this article, the American Forum seeks to promote "study and serious untrammelled political discussions among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives...however deep and bitter their differences may have been."

This article reflects that a forty-member national committee had been established and, according to Muste, these persons serve as individuals and not as delegated representatives of any group.

Muste, according to this article, stated that the American Forum is not a membership organization and does not propose to promote united action by various parties or groups, mergers or new organizations.

The article reflects that among other purposes the AFFSE seeks to call attention to the various publications of the groups whose people engage in discussion; to publish bulletins or pamphlets; to organize regional and national conferences; contribute to the building of new morale and ethic, a spirit of fair play, labor militancy, determination and hope among the progressive and radical forces in this country.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist daily newspaper which suspended operation on January 13, 1958.

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "American Friends of Spanish Democracy":

- "1. In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations *** and as *** American Friends of Spanish Democracy."
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 of the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 82.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

I.

"AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "American Friends of the Chinese People":

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 40 and 147.)

"2. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' organization.
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 145 and 146)."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.

"AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE (GARLAND FUND)"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "American Fund For Public Service (Garland Fund)":

- "1. 'Established in 1922 *** it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises' such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense, William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the Party, served on the board of directors of the Fund.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN STUDENT UNION"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "American Student Union":

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which was 'the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists' in Columbus, Ohio in 1935.¹ The Young Communist League took credit for the creation of the organization, which offered free trips to the Soviet Union. It claimed to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 9, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 16; and in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 159.)

- "2. Cited as subversive and un-American.

(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"1- Date incorrectly appears as 1937 in House Report 2 of January 3, 1939."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"BOOK UNION"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Book Union":

- "1. 'Distributors of Communist literature.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action
Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 96.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

From the file

1.

APPENDIX

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE
FOR MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon MORTON SOBELL, 'the ROSENBERGS' codefendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a Communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then as the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'. . . ."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In March, 1955, the current name, "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell," first appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company, on April 16, 1963, lists the "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" (CSJMS) as being located at 940 Broadway, New York, New York.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"CONSUMERS' NATIONAL FEDERATION"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Consumers' National Federation".

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action
Committee, March 29, 1944, p.155.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"FEDERATED PRESS"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Federated Press":

- "1. Cited as a Communist-controlled organization financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 76, 143, and 147.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"FIGHT"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Fight":

- "1. Cited as the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, later known as the American League for Peace and Democracy.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 113 and 128; also cited in Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 15.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"FRATERNAL OUTLOOK"

"1. Cited as a publication of the International Workers Order and 'among typical examples of the Communist press and publications.'
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 49 and 225.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.

"FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade":

"1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above Communist-front organization.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 82 and 125; also cited in Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 9.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"FRONTIER FILMS"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Frontier Films".

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action
Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 49, 83, and 147.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS"

"1. Among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1115 on the Civil Rights Congress, November 17, 1941, originally released September 2, 1947, p.3.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.

"JAPANESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY"

"1. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' organization.
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report
2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations,
July 2, 1952, p. 146.)"

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Roger Nash Baldwin

1.

APPENDIX

"JEWISH CURRENTS,"
Formerly known as "Jewish Life"

"Jewish Life" for October, 1957, announced that after the October issue, and with the next issue to be published in January, 1958, the magazine was changing its name to "Jewish Currents," because of the claim to the name "Jewish Life" by the magazine "Orthodox Jewish Life."

The May, 1963, issue reported that "Jewish Currents" is published by Jewish Currents, Inc., Room 601, 22 East 17th Street, New York City.

Concerning "Jewish Life," the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, dated December 1, 1961, and prepared by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, stated:

"(1) Cited as a Communist-front which 'first appeared in November, 1946, as a monthly published by the Morning Freiheit Association, publishers of the Yiddish Communist daily, Morning Freiheit. . . . The first issue contained this announcement of policy: Jewish Life dedicates itself to strengthening the friendship of the Jewish people with the Soviet Union. . . .'

"Its Editor, LOUIS HARAP, has been identified as a Communist in sworn testimony.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 93.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"JOINT COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE"

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities,
Report, 1948, p.335.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.

"KOREAN INDEPENDENCE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Korean Independence":

"1. A bilingual Korean-English newspaper published in Los Angeles since approximately 1943, which is 'exclusively a vehicle for Communist Party propaganda.'

'The newspaper is circulated among persons of Korean descent for the purpose of popularizing the policies of the Soviet Union, the North Korean Government, and the Communist conspiracy in America.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1955, House Report 1648, January 17, 1956, originally released January 11, 1956, p.27.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

I.
"LABOR DEFENDER"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Labor Defender":

- "1. A 'Communist magazine.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25,
1942, p.18.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY"

The following is noted concerning the League for Industrial Democracy (LID):

The report of the Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Volume I, page 683, reflects that in 1905, the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, later known as the League for Industrial Democracy, had been organized for the purpose of promoting and creating interest in Socialism among college men and women, graduates and undergraduates.

Walter F. Steele, Editor of the "National Republic", when testifying before the Dies Committee, stated that the League for Industrial Democracy was the main propaganda and agitation agency of the Socialists.

The March 25, 1955, issue of "USA - An American Bulletin of Fact and Opinion", on page 1, relates "The League for Industrial Democracy does not want public attention drawn to the fact that from 1905 until 1920, the organization was called 'The Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society.' The motive for this main change was a strong one. Even in 1921, at the tender age of 16, the organization's record was so bad, and public reaction against alien ratification was so strong, that the members found it wise to adopt a collective alias....."

"Under the new name, the LID is Socialist, and whenever the old-time members of the Executive Board found it expedient, they formed a united front with Communists and pro-Communists."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.

"LEAGUE OF YOUNG SOUTHERNERS"

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities,
Report, 1948, pp. 334 and 336.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"LIBERATOR"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Liberator":

- "1. A 'Communist magazine.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25,
1942, p.18.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"MEDICAL BUREAU AND NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH
DEMOCRACY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy":

- "1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 82.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"MEDICAL BUREAU TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy":

- "1. Cited as one in a series of Communist enterprises which have dealt with Spain and the Spanish Civil War. Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee ***."

(Committee on Un-American Activities,
Annual Report, House Report 2233,
June 7, 1946, p. 27.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"MICHIGAN CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Michigan Civil Rights Federation":

- "1. Cited as a subversive and Communist organization which has been succeeded by and now operates as the Michigan Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress.
(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, June 1, 1948, and September 24, 1948.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

1.

APPENDIX

"MORNING FREIHEIT"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "Morning Freiheit":

"Morning Freiheit

- "1. The Communist International 'subsidized * * * the founding of the CPUSA's newspaper, Freiheit.'
(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 51-101, Modified Report with respect to the Communist Party of the United States of America, December 18, 1956, p. 159.)
- "2. A 'Communist Yiddish daily.'
(Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.)
- "3. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest organs of Communist propaganda in this country for almost a quarter of a century.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 75.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.

"NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO AID VICTIMS OF GERMAN FASCISM"

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities,
Report, 1948, p.124.)
- "2. Among organizations, created or controlled by
the Communist Party or part of a united front
with the party, which supported the First United
States Congress Against War. The congress was
openly led by the Communists.
(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American
Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 462 and 466.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.

"NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL INSURANCE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "National Congress For Unemployment And Social Insurance":

- "1. Cited as a Communist front, held January 5,6,7,1935, in Washington, D.C., and headed by Herbert Benjamin, leading Communist.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,pp.94 and 116.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1. "NATIONAL COUNCIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION"

- "1. Cited as a Communist front 'organized for the purpose of attracting many good citizens..... who are against war.'
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p.319.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

1.

APPENDIX

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

- "1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.

"NATIONAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE AGAINST HEARST"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "National People's Committee Against Hearst":

- "1. A 'subsidiary' organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25,
1942, p.16.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

I.
"NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE"

"1. Cited as the Communists' front organization for students, about which Earl Browder, former general secretary of the Communist Party, said, 'From the beginning it has been clearly revolutionary in its program and activities.'

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 119; also cited in Annual Report, H.R. 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"NEW MASSES"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "New Masses":

- "1. 'New Masses, a weekly publication, *** was an officially controlled organ of the (Communist) Party which dealt principally with problems in the arts and sciences from the Party point of view.'
(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 108-53, Report and Order with respect to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, December 21, 1955, p.8.)
- "2. A 'Communist periodical.'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p.7688.)
- "3. 'Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party *** whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service' (Garland Fund).
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp.48 and 75; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 2, January 3, 1939, p.80; and House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, pp.4 and 21.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"NEW YORK TOM MOONEY COMMITTEE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "New York Tom Mooney Committee":

- "1. Cited as a Communist front. 'For many years, the Communist Party organized widespread agitation around the Mooney case, and drew its members and followers into the agitation.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.154.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1. "PEOPLE'S CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY"

"1. The above, meeting in Pittsburgh in November, 1937, spawned the American League for Peace and Democracy."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 150.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"PROTESTANT DIGEST"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Protestant Digest":

- "1. 'A magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 48.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4.
Roger Nash Baldwin

CONFIDENTIAL
APPENDIX

1.
"ROBERT MARSHALL FOUNDATION"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Robert Marshall Foundation":

- "1. 'This fund of more than a million dollars, which originated with the rich man's son whose name it bears, has been one of the principal sources for the money with which to finance the Communist Party's fronts generally in recent years.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.50.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION FARMS, INC."

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.":

- "1. Cited as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor. It received funds from the Garland Fund.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 20, 1944, p.76.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"SOVIET PICTORIAL"

- "1. 'Soviet Pictorial, carrying glorified photographs of life in the Soviet Union, was a publication of the Friends of Soviet Russia.'
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p.243.)"

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Roger Nash Baldwin

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APPENDIX

"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "Soviet Russia Today":

- "1. 'Soviet Russia Today commenced as the official organ of Friends of the Soviet Union. *** It and its successor (New World Review) have a continuous record of over 22 years of uninterrupted publication and admittedly have operated in respondent's (the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.) interest and are used as educational media by respondent.' 'Jessica Smith was *** shown to be long-time member and functionary in the (Communist) Party, as well as in the Party-controlled Friends of the Soviet Union. She has been continuously the editor of Soviet Russia Today and its successor New World Review for years.' She has also been on the Board of Directors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., since it was incorporated in 1943 or shortly thereafter.
(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No.104-53, Report and Order with respect to the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, Inc., February 7, 1956, pp. 20 and 22; see also pp. 7 and 9.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.167; also cited in Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.21.)
- "3. Cited as a 'Communist-front publication.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p.108.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

²

"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

- "4. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' publication.
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050
on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2,
1952, pp. 96 and 146.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

I.

"UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "United States Congress Against War":

- "1. 'The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. *** The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union *** Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program.'

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683.)

- "2. 'Convened in St. Nicholas Arena, New York City, on September 29, 1933 *** it was completely under the control of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was a leading figure in all its deliberations. In his report to the Communist International, Browder stated: 'The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly.'"

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 119; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 11; and House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 14.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"VANGUARD PRESS"

- "1. Cited as a 'Communist enterprise' which was established by the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) with a donation of capital amounting to \$139,000. 'A series of propaganda books on Russia, edited by Jerome Davis, was one of the first large publishing projects of the Vanguard Press.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76.)"

Roger Nash Baldwin

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

1.
"VOICE OF LABOR"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Voice of Labor":

- "1. 'Further dissension within the left-wing group (of the Socialist Party) led to the resignations of Reed, MacAlpine, and Gitlow from the staff of the Revolutionary Age, and a new paper, The Voice of Labor, was launched on August 15, 1919.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1694 on Organized Communism in the United States, May, 28, 1954, originally released August 19, 1953, p. 25; also cited in House Report 209 on The Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power, April 1, 1947, p. 41.)"

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC."

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Workers Library Publishers, Inc.":

- "1. 'Workers Library Publishers, Inc., is established as a (Communist) Party publishing organization which also operated out of Party headquarters and was succeeded through reorganization by New Century Publishers.' (Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 108-53, Report and Order with respect to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, December 21, 1955, p. 8.)
- "2. An 'official Communist Party publishing agency.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 8; also cited in Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 18.)
- "3. 'Official Communist Party, U.S.A., publishing house.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1920 on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence, May 11, 1948, pp. 72 and 80.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"WORLD YOUTH FESTIVALS (1949 and 1959)"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "World Youth Festivals (1949 and 1959)":

"1. The American Youth for a Free World 'cooperated with' the World Federation of Democratic Youth 'to promote' the World Youth Festival held August 14-28, 1949 in Budapest Hungary.

A Seventh World Youth Festival, held in Vienna, July 26-August 4, 1959, was 'Communist-arranged.' Testimony received by the Committee stated the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students set up an International Preparatory Committee to run the Vienna Youth Festival.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 378 on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, pp. 77 and 78; and Annual Report for 1960, House Report 2237, January 2, 1961, pp. 44 and 45.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

OCT 14 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title	Roger Nash Baldwin, Member of the "Committee of 100" In Support of The National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Incorporated.
XXXXXXXXXX Character	
Reference	is made to the memorandum, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 16, 1959

Legal Attache, Madrid

Director, FBI (100-7080)

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM
LINCOLN BRIGADE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY 288 STS/agg

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a self-explanatory airtel from New York dated 11-9-59 concerning a contemplated trip of Roger Baldwin to Spain.

Baldwin, former president of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), has been connected with ACLU since 1917. Although Baldwin has been the subject of limited inquiries by the Bureau, a complete investigation of his activities has not been made. The annual reports of the ACLU reaffirm its anticommunist and anti-Fascist policy and maintain that it will defend the civil liberties of all persons regardless of any political party, organization, denomination, race, or nationality to which a person may belong. The ACLU has never been investigated by the Bureau.

No investigation should be conducted concerning Baldwin or his activities while in Spain. Any information coming to your attention concerning Baldwin's activities while in Spain, especially in connection with captioned organization, should be furnished to the Bureau.

Enclosure

- ① - 100-49565 - (Roger Baldwin)
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

JTH:mar
(6)



58 NOV 23 1959

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
DeLoach _____
McGuire _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL COPY FILED

11/9/59

AIRTEL

~~Confidential~~

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S)~~

~~DATE 7/31/78 JTB/SS~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-7060)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-2545)

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM
LINCOLN BRIGADE
IS-C; ISA - 50

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.~~

(U) [redacted] reported on 11/6/59, that ARNOLD JOHNSON (CPUSA Legislative Director), was on that date in contact with JOE BRANDT (N.J. CP functionary). BRANDT stated that he is trying to find a method of getting to ROGER BALDWIN (Director ACLU), who is leading a delegation to Spain, in connection with the arrest of some outstanding Spanish Jew. BRANDT further informed JOHNSON that the "Vets" (VALB) would like to get to BALDWIN before he departs for Spain. ~~C~~

(U) JOHNSON stated that it is easy to reach BALDWIN, and that BRANDT can call BALDWIN and tell him that he (JOHNSON) suggested the call. JOHNSON further ~~C~~

- 4-Bureau (100-7060) (RM)
- (1-100-49565) (ROGER N. BALDWIN)
- 1-Newark (100-38042) (JOSEPH BRANDT) (Info) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1-New York (100-10159) (ACLU) (41)
- 1-New York (100-8424) (ROGER BALDWIN) (424) NOT RECORDED
- 1-New York (100-47211) (STEVE NELSON) (415) 170 NOV 18 1959
- 1-New York (100-2545) (41)

RGS:rmv
(11)

Classified by SP3 BTJ/08
Declassify on: OADR 11-4-86
206251

Classified by 12/59
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
7/30/78

~~Confidential~~

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

100-2545-1289

~~Confidential~~

NY 100-2545

(U) stated that it "sometimes" helps to mention my name. BRANDT indicated that "sometimes" is not good enough, and that "we" want to be sure, as "we" have a proposition for him. BRANDT stated "we" want him (BALDWIN) to visit some of "our prisoners," and then we want to organize a mass meeting for him when he returns, so that he can report. (C)

(U) BRANDT further stated that he wanted to be sure that BALDWIN doesn't "recoil." BRANDT indicated that neither he (BRANDT) or STEVE NELSON are going. "We" (VALE) agreed that none of us should go, except a "few guys," who are not too well known. (C)

(U) JOHNSON stated that BALDWIN will not "recoil" at that, but that it would be better if he (BRANDT) did go, as he could then determine exactly what is transpiring. JOHNSON further stated that he feels sure that BALDWIN will respond to BRANDT's call, because of the fact that he (JOHNSON) and BALDWIN have sort of a running agreement. JOHNSON explained that BALDWIN recently referred an "Indian student" to him, who had a question concerning civil rights, and the Negro people. JOHNSON stated that he always sees BALDWIN at his home, the address of which is 282 W. 11th St., NYC. (C)

(U) BRANDT indicated that he would call BALDWIN and say, "we are from the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. We read that you are going to Spain, and want to talk to you about something important." BRANDT stated that he would have "the guys" call BALDWIN tomorrow (11/7/59), as he may be leaving for Spain next week. (C)

(U) JOHNSON stated that he believes that BALDWIN will welcome all the advance information he can get on exactly that point. (C)

Above furnished for information.

~~Confidential~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DeLoach*

FROM : D. C. Morrell *Morrell*

DATE: 3-19-64

SUBJECT: AMELIE S. ROTHSCHILD
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
NEW YORK CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 5TH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY 2088 JJJ/af

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Captioned individual wrote on March 17th and stated that a book was to be presented to Roger Nash Baldwin at a party to be held for him at the residence of Mrs. Leonard Bernstein. This is in connection with his 80th birthday, and to make the celebration meaningful, personal messages from his "good friends" from all over the world are being requested. She states she feels sure the Director will be proud of Baldwin's great contributions in the international field of civil liberties, and she hopes that he will send a message as soon as possible to be placed in the gift book.

Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles. Mrs. Leonard Bernstein cannot be identified in Bufiles on the basis of information supplied, but she may be the wife of the prominent musician and orchestra conductor who was the subject of a security investigation by the Bureau from 1951 to 1958. He was connected in some way with 13 organizations designated by the Attorney General or cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Baldwin was at one time on the mailing list to receive the Uniform Crime Reports bulletin but was deleted when mail to him was returned. He has been long associated with the American Civil Liberties Union, and he is a political reformer who has stated that philosophically he is an anarchist though he does not work at it. He has had associations with numerous organizations cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Baldwin has written the Bureau on numerous occasions criticizing our cooperation with local law enforcement officers. The Bureau replied cordially to his correspondence in each instance.

In December 1941, Baldwin spoke to the Director in connection with an article "The New Republic" had asked him to prepare. Baldwin stated he had sent a man out and told him to "get all the dirt you could on the FBI" but that after two weeks the man came back with almost nothing.

1 - Mr. DeLoach *22*
5 APR 2 1964
JH:ncr (3)

100-44565
NOT RECORDED
46 MAR 27 1964

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

ORIGINAL FILED IN 61-190-1070

Morrell to DeLoach memo
RE: Amelie S. Rothschild

It does not appear that Baldwin has been a close friend of the Director. In view of the controversial nature of the American Civil Liberties Union, it would not be appropriate to send one of its acknowledged leaders over the years a congratulatory message which might, in effect, indicate the Director's endorsement of this organization. This is undoubtedly a form-type letter sent to a great number of persons by those interested in obtaining messages for this book. It is believed that ignoring the communication would be better than attempting to send any sort of acknowledgment.

RECOMMENDATION:

That no acknowledgment be made.

Keene

WMA

WMA

WMA

I concur.
J

New York Civil Liberties Union

Affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010 • OREGON 5-5990

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Arnold Hoffman

Trude W. Lash

James A. Lee

Ephraim S. London

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Monrad G. Paulsen

Carl Rachlin

Henry Sellin

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Lloyd K. Garrison

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Karl Menninger

Loren Miller

Morris H. Rubin

Lillian E. Smith

Vice-chairmen

Roger N. Baldwin

International Work Adviser

March 17, 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

No celebration for Roger Nash Baldwin will be meaningful to him without personal messages from his good friends from all over the world. To make his eightieth birthday party a success, we hope you will send a personal message to him to this office to be included in a book of mementos.

This book will be presented to him by Mrs. Leonard Bernstein at the party to be held at the Bernstein residence. Mrs. Bernstein, Chairman of the Women's Division of NYCLU, is being assisted by an active committee conducting an extensive program of education on civil liberties. The proceeds from this event will help to broaden the scope of this newly developed program.

Although you may have written a message to Mr. Baldwin upon his retiring from his active role in the American Civil Liberties Union, I am sure you are proud of his great contributions in the international field of civil liberties since 1950 with the International League for the Rights of Man and with the United Nations.

We hope you will send us your message as soon as possible so that it may be placed in his gift book.

Sincerely,

Amelie S. Rothschild
Associate Director

100-49565
NOT RECORDED
66 MAR 27 1964

1 MAR 26 1964

manell to Rothschild memo
3-19-64
Joffen

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ORIGINAL FILED IN 61-120-1069

Rothschild - memo
Baldwin
212
66 MAR 27 1964
200-100-100

F B I

Date: 10/14/63

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (61-3176)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-7629-Sub D)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED
PEOPLE
IS - C
(OO: NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY 208 BTJ/ag

ReBuairtel 8/15/63, NYairtels 8/28/63, 10/4/63 and
10/11/63.

Enclosed are three copies of a LHM and one copy of a cover memorandum, as well as an additional copy of each for the Bureau file, where known, on the following individuals:

Roger Nash Baldwin ✓

Osmond K. Fraenkel ✓

Frank Porter Graham ✓

Hubert T. Delany ✓

John Haynes Holmes ✓

Harry Emerson Fosdick ✓

Sidney Hook ✓

LHM are outstanding on the following names:

Freda Kirchwey - Awaiting additional information from
HCUA records.

A. Philip Randolph - Awaiting additional information from
HCUA records.

[redacted] - Minneapolis by airtel 10/10/63 advised
[redacted] is employed and resides in NYC. Also awaiting results of HCUA
check requested by Minneapolis airtel 10/10/63.

ENCLOSURE

LHM on the above three names will be submitted upon receipt
of necessary information from WFO.

3 - Bureau (Enc-8) (RM)

1 - WFO (100-2941) (RM)

1 - New York (100-7629-Sub D) #41

AEC:IM

(6)

98

NOT RECORDED

OCT 15 1963

OCT 15 1963

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge.

64 NOV 8 1963

OCT 15 1963
11 03 AM '63
DON INLET DIA

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-7629-3807

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

2/5

19 65

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527☐ Service Unit - Room 6524☐ Forward to File Review☐ Attention ☒ Return to

Supervisor

Room

Ext.

b6

b7C

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)☐ Subversive References Only☐ Nonsubversive References Only☒ Main *Summary* References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)☐ Buildup☒ VariationsSubject *Roger Baldwin*

Birthdate & Place _____

Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____

Date *2/5*

Searcher

Initials *JA*

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

*100-49565**1**61-167**Roger N. (bw)**MF 47-10206**100-49565-57**Summary**11-3-52**Roger Nash (bw)**100-49565-72**Summary**10-21-59**✓**-68**10-31-58**100-31996-1**Summary**5-5-42**Approx 1000 See refs not listed*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *2-20-86* BY *2088 BTJ/cg*

February 9, 1965

BY LINSON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-20-86 BY 288 BTJ/csp
266231

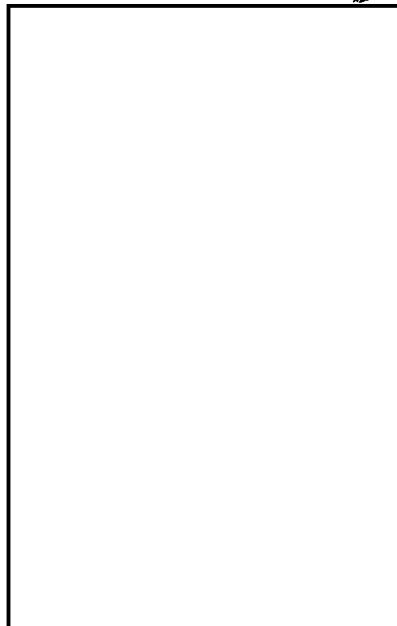
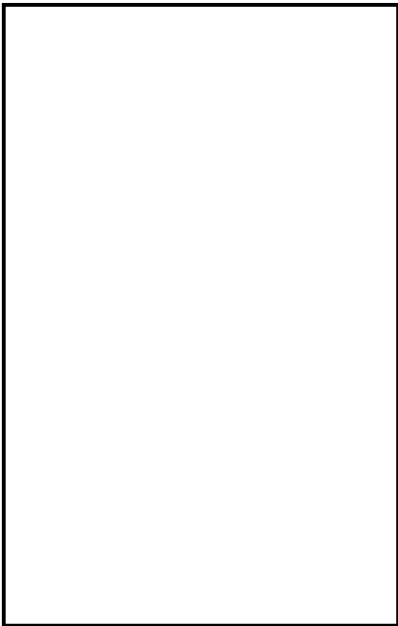
b6
b7c

13.7
Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

Mrs. Mildred Stegall has requested FBI name checks on approximately 130 individuals. Set forth below are the results of the completed portion of this request.

The central files of the FBI, as well as the fingerprint files of the FBI Identification Division, contain no pertinent information or arrest data on the following individuals based upon the background information provided in this name check inquiry:



- 1 - Mr. Belmont (Sent with cover memo) 1 - Mr. Mohr (Sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. DeLoach (Sent with cover memo) 1 - Mr. Gale (Sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Rosen (Sent with cover memo)

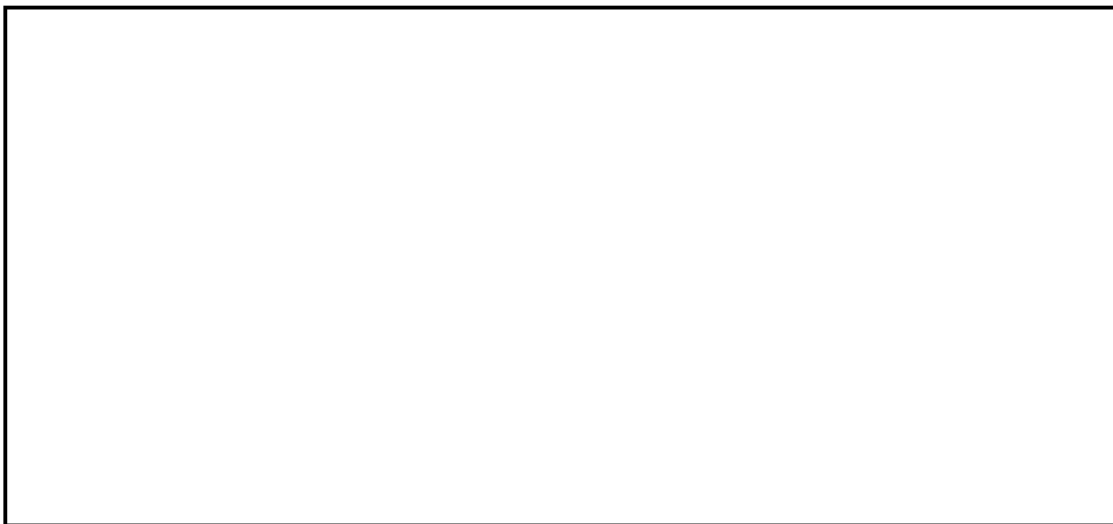
NOTE: See M. A. Jones to DeLoach Memo of 2-3-65, captioned "Name Check Requests for White House."

JMM:blh (10)

69 MAR 10 1965

ORIGINAL FILED

Mr. [redacted] [redacted]

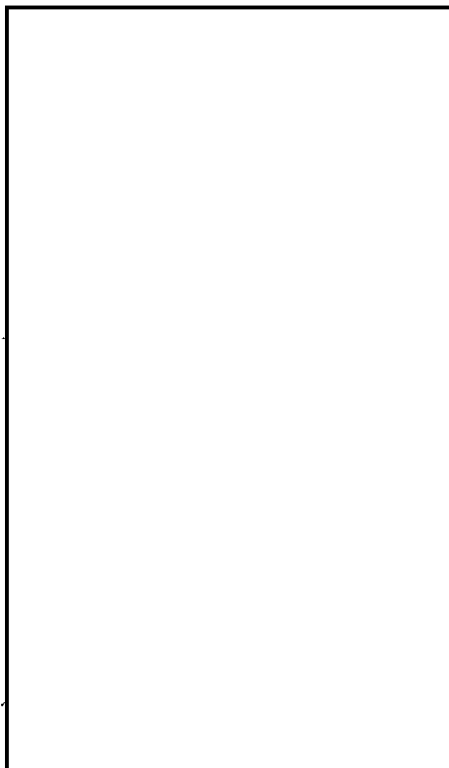
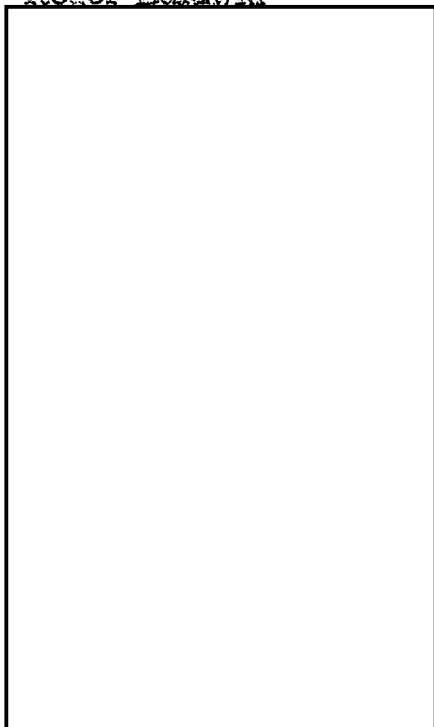


b6
b7C

Attached are separate memoranda setting forth the results of information in FBI files, as well as a check of the fingerprint files of the FBI Identification Division, on the following individuals mentioned in this name check request, further identified as follows:

[redacted]

Roger Baldwin



b6
b7C

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures (40) RW

~~SECRET~~

SEE REVERSE
SIDE FOR
CLASSIFICATION
ACTION

February 10, 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Classified by SP8BJJ/sgg
Declassify on: OADR 8-20-86

~~ROGER BALDWIN Summary~~
282 WEST 11TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10014

Roger Baldwin has been described as a pacifist, a political reformer and an anarchist. He has been associated with the American Civil Liberties Union in a leadership capacity for many years.

Baldwin never has been investigated by the FBI but information in FBI files reveals he has been associated or in contact with a number of leading members of the Communist Party, USA, and numerous organizations cited under provisions of Executive Order 10450. Among these organizations are:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
American League Against War and Fascism
American Youth Congress
Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder
International Workers Order
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
American League for Peace and Democracy
Friends of the Soviet Union

FBI fingerprint files contain no arrest record identifiable with Baldwin based on the background data furnished with this name check request. (100-49565)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

NOTE: Enclosure to letter to Marvin Watson, White House.

DWB:mm

(10)

~~SECRET~~ SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-49565-71